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J. J. Raven

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THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Memorials of the New England Historic Genealogical Society have much satisfaction in presenting to the members of the Society the fourth volume of Memorial Biographies, which they are enabled to do by the liberality of the late William B. Towne, A.M., who established a fund, from the income of which a portion of the expense of the several volumes has been paid. They would, however, remind their fellow-members that in order to derive the greatest possible advantage from this fund the volumes should be purchased soon after they are issued, as in this way only will the Committee have sufficient means at their disposal to bring out the volumes as promptly as desired.

The present volume contains memoirs of thirty-five deceased members, which complete the necrology of the Society for over seventeen years to the spring of 1862, or for nearly one half of the period of its existence. During this time one hundred and sixty-two members have died, memoirs of whom, more or less full, are printed in the four volumes which have now been issued.

The Committee have been engaged for seven years on this series of volumes. They began their labors in the spring of 1878, the Towne Memorial Fund, of which an account will be found in the Introduction to the first volume, having then accumulated sufficiently to warrant the undertaking. All the members chosen in March, 1878, now serve on the Committee, with the addition of the present Secretary, elected in January, 1883.

The Committee decided, and so stated in their circular issued soon after their organization, that the work should be "a positive contribution to the history of the times;" that the memoirs, instead of being "mere eulogies, or statistical and colorless abstracts," should be "models of full and accurate detail." The authors of the various memoirs in these volumes have co-operated with the Committee and assisted in carrying out this design. The families of most of our deceased brethren have also lightened the labors of the Committee by furnishing full and reliable materials, illustrating the lives of their relatives, and in not a few instances they have contributed memoirs which were all that could be desired.

The members of the Society are not restricted to any one class of the community, the bond of union being a respect for the worthy deeds of the men of past days, and a desire to perpetuate the memory of those who by personal sacrifices have built up the institutions of our land. Nor are they confined to one section of our country, though they are mostly residents of New England, or descendants of people who have resided here. It would naturally be expected that the memoirs of these men, faithfully and fully portrayed, would contain valuable materials for the history of the people, and facts and incidents throwing light on manners and customs. This characteristic can confidently be claimed for the present series of volumes.

Though every member of the Committee has rendered important service in bringing out these Memorial Biographies, it is but justice to the Secretaries to state that the editorial work has devolved upon them. The first Secretary, John Gardner White, A.M., was eminently fitted for inaugurating the work and securing the co-operation of authors specially qualified for writing the various memoirs. To him the success of the undertaking is in a great measure due. He edited the first two volumes and a part of the third. Mr. White's engagements having compelled him to resign the secretaryship, the Committee were fortunate enough to secure the services of Albert H. Hoyt, A.M., who has performed the duties of the office in a remarkably efficient manner, and has spared no time nor labor to make the work thoroughly accurate and reliable in all its details. The third volume was completed under his charge, and the whole of the fourth volume has been edited by him.

John Ward Dean.

GUSTAVUS SWAN

Gustavus Swan was born on the fifteenth of July, 1787, in the town of Sharon, county of Hillsborough, New Hampshire. He was the youngest and the survivor of a family of ten children,—five sons and five daughters. His father owned a small farm much burdened with debt, and consequently his opportunities of education were very limited. He attended the common schools during the winter, and during the remainder of the year assisted his father in the labors of the farm. He early showed a strong love of reading, which was developed and strengthened by the instructions of his mother.

His father wished him to be a merchant; and when he was twelve years of age he was sent to an instructor of bookkeeping, who was not only a master of the science, but a most rigid disciplinarian. This was the only assistance he received from his family. During the intervals of labor with his father, he sought employment among his neighbors, and performed any work he was set to do, shrinking from no form of drudgery that was in the slightest degree remunerative. He soon learned that he must depend solely on his own exertion for his advancement in life.

In 1801 he took the decisive step, and left his father's house, and never resided in it again. His ambition and his intention were to obtain a liberal education. His sole capital consisted of his native talents, energy, habits of industry and economy, his knowledge of bookkeeping, and the small sum of forty dollars, which he had earned by hard labor at low wages. He went to an Academy at Peterboro', having first arranged with a merchant of the place to spend the time, while not occupied in school, in keeping the books of the merchant for his own board and lodging. His time at the Academy was mainly devoted to the study of Latin and of mathematics.

At the close of the term young Swan found himself nearly beggared, and his homespun wardrobe in rags. He worked for three months as a field-hand, and in the fall became a pupil in a private school. The teacher proved unfit for the business, and a break-up of the school occurred. A minister of the village, to whom Swan explained his condition and his wishes, took him into his own family, and gave him board and lodging and private lessons through the winter, in consideration of his attending to the business of the parsonage. The minister was a ripe scholar and a conscientious friend; and so complete and thorough was his instruction that at the end of the winter he pronounced young Swan qualified to enter the junior class of any college in the country. Stimulated and sustained by this favorable opinion, young Swan wished to shorten the period of his education; and sought from a relative the loan of one hundred dollars, so that his studies might not be interrupted by the intervals of labor necessary to earn money for his support. This was refused.

By this refusal he was much depressed, but not discouraged. He returned to the place of his first employment; and in the store where he had been bookkeeper he attracted the attention of a scholarly physician, who offered the use of his office and library, and instruction in Latin without charge. The offer was accepted. By an economy in the expense of lodging and subsistence that is almost incredible, he was able to avail himself of the kind services of his friend during the stay of the latter in the village, which was but of short duration. The instruction here given was necessarily irregular; but it was thorough, and the pupil needed no watching.

After this there followed two years of labor, on one farm and another, and a season of school-teaching; when a friend, who was clerk in the store where Swan had kept books, recommended him to the cashier of a neighboring bank. The position of general assistant in the bank was offered to Swan; and on the termination of his engagement in the school he entered upon his new duties with a salary of three hundred dollars for the first year, which was afterwards increased to one thousand dollars a year. From his earnings in the bank he was enabled to buy a home for his father and mother; and he continued to aid his parents and an invalid sister so long as they lived.

The situation in which Mr. Swan now found himself was in many respects an advantageous one. He was relieved from the necessity of manual labor. Of drudgery and privation he had already endured enough for all purposes of discipline; and now everything was favorable to congenial pursuits. He formed the acquaintance of the members of the three learned professions in the village, of its business men, and of the lawyers of distinction who came from other parts of New Hampshire and from Massachusetts to attend the courts. He had the advantage also of the best society of the place. There was a club composed of the principal men of all branches of business, at the meetings of which lectures were delivered and debates occurred. Mr. Swan became a member of the club, and made careful preparation for the part he took in the debates. Here he had an opportunity of comparing himself with others, and of discovering his deficiencies.

At this time Mr. Swan decided to pursue the profession of the law. He entered the office of a noted lawyer, and buying a copy of Blackstone and other books, pursued his studies without giving up his position in the bank. He read only at night; and that he might pursue his studies to greater advantage, he declined all social invitations. He had no associates but two friends of similar tastes.

In the winter of 1808–1809 the three young men procured several books of travel, and among them was one descriptive of the State of Ohio. This volume excited their special interest; and it was decided that one of Mr. Swan's friends should visit Ohio, on a tour of investigation, at the joint expense of the three, and if his report was favorable, they would try their fortunes in the new State. In the spring of 1809 the one who was chosen departed on the tour of exploration. He sent back a favorable report; and in the autumn of the same year another member of the party followed. Mr. Swan did not begin his journey until the seventeenth day of April, 1810. He travelled on horseback; and passing through New York and Philadelphia, crossed the Ohio River at Wheeling, and followed the right bank of the river to Marietta, where he rejoined his friends on the tenth day of May. The young man who had arrived in the spring was already admitted to the Bar; and Mr. Swan entered his office as a student for the year that, under the existing regulation, must elapse before he himself could be admitted. In the spring of 1811 he was admitted to practice, and soon obtained his first client.

An officer of the Revolutionary army, who had been wounded in the battle of Trenton, had a political dispute with a young man. The officer was a Federalist; the young man in the course of the controversy called him a Tory. This was more than the old officer could endure, and he immediately knocked the young man down. An indictment for assault and battery followed; and the officer employed Mr. Swan to defend him. He was told that there was no possibility of acquittal; but he insisted upon a trial. For this Mr. Swan prepared, with a nervous fear and trembling which lasted until the close of the case. In his argument he admitted that words did not constitute a defence for assault; but claimed that the word "Tory" had acquired a new meaning since the war with England; that now it was a gross insult to apply the term to any one. If it had borne its present meaning when the rule was adopted, it would undoubtedly have been made an exception, and considered a justification for assault. This sophistry was soon brushed aside by the judge in his charge to the jury. The jury failed to agree upon a verdict, and was discharged. Upon the solicitation of Mr. Swan, a *nolle prosequi* was entered in the case, and the old officer went free.

When Mr. Swan came to Marietta he had a little over fifteen hundred dollars in cash. He loaned nearly the whole sum to one of his friends, who went into business, and it was entirely lost. He used to say that the loss was really a gain to him. It was a favorite maxim with him that a young man's best capital, with which to begin active life, is "good morals, a liberal education, and fear of starvation."

It now occurred to Mr. Swan, while considering some definite plan for the future, that there must be in the State a wider field for professional advancement than was afforded at Marietta. He therefore at once visited Zanesville, the temporary seat of government, Chillicothe, Cincinnati, and finally, Franklinton, the shire town of Franklin county. Here, in the spring of 1811, he concluded to settle permanently. Franklinton then had a smaller population than either Zanesville or Cincinnati; but the impression prevailed that it would soon become the seat of government of the State; and that consideration induced Mr. Swan to select Franklinton as his home. The capital was, in fact, located the following year at the new town of Columbus, less than a mile distant, on the eastern bank of the Scioto. It now includes the town of Franklinton in its corporate limits.

The condition of things which then existed in this portion of the new State can hardly be realized at present. "When I opened my office in Franklinton," says Mr. Swan, "in the spring of 1811, there was neither church, nor school-house, nor pleasure carriage in the county, nor was there a bridge over any stream within the compass of an hundred miles. The roads at all seasons of the year were nearly impassable. Goods were imported, principally from Philadelphia, in wagons; and our exports, consisting of horses, cattle, and hogs, carried themselves to market. The mails were brought to us once a week on horseback, if not prevented by high water. I feel safe in asserting that there was not in the county a chair for every two persons, nor a knife and fork for every four." The proportion of rough population was very large. With that class, to say that "he would fight," was to praise a man; and it was against him if he refused to drink. Aged persons and invalids, however, were respected and protected, and could avoid drinking and fighting with impunity; but even they could not safely interfere to interrupt a fight. There was one virtue, that of hospitality, which was not confined to any one class.

When Mr. Swan left New England he showed very strong symptoms of pulmonary disease; and after his arrival in Ohio he was troubled with occasional spitting of blood. His appearance was not that of a strong man. This physical condition, and a ready tact, saved him from the necessity of fighting or drinking. This disposition to pulmonary weakness was supplanted by the malarial disease of the West, which in its turn disappeared; and Mr. Swan became a healthy, vigorous man, capable of enduring great fatigue without injury to his health.

Enough has already been said to show that Mr. Swan possessed many of the qualities necessary to success in his profession; that he was ambitious, energetic, self-reliant, industrious, economical, and self-denying; and that he had a faculty of making and retaining friends. It is well to refer here to some qualities which were more plainly shown by his subsequent career. He possessed strong intellectual power, and a remarkable quickness and thoroughness of perception. In this particular none of his professional contemporaries surpassed, and but few, if any, equalled him. He had a ready command of his faculties and his knowledge. He could concentrate his attention at once on whatever work he undertook to do. Professional work did not fatigue him, and he despatched it with a rapidity that was seldom seen.

Thus armed and equipped, Mr. Swan took his place in the professional arena. He had a small collection of books, partly miscellaneous, and partly professional. Finding that there was too strong an inclination to resort to the former, he sold them, and supplied their place with law-books; and devoted his whole time to his profession. His preparation was as thorough as was possible. He kept a record of every case in which he was engaged, and noted with particularity the points presented on both sides, as well those which were overruled as those which were sustained. He wrote a great many of his addresses to the jury, where it was possible to anticipate the course of the argument. He cultivated the art of oratory, declaiming his arguments in a retired field, either alone, or with an intimate friend. In the spring of 1814 he left Franklinton, and opened an office in Columbus.

Before proceeding farther, two episodes are to be noted which occurred before the change of residence. There was a very sparse population in the northern part of Ohio. When the surrender of General Hull occurred, on the sixteenth of August, 1812, there remained no military force between Lake Erie and Franklinton. A fear of the Indians arose among the few settlers in the woods. For lack of any knowledge on the subject, except that the Indians were to be dreaded, there was no means of dispelling the fear; and soon after the surrender, a few panic-stricken refugees appeared at Franklinton and announced that an attack by the savages was imminent, as a band of them was approaching, and was but a few miles distant. The citizens were of course in a great state of excitement. Work was begun in throwing up an intrenchment around the court-house and fortifying it, so as to afford a refuge to the people in case of attack, and a volunteer company was organized to go out and ascertain if there were, in fact, Indians in the neighborhood, and their number. Mr. Swan was a member of this company. After making a diligent search the scouts found no trace of Indians, and the fear of an attack subsided. . . .

Subsequently a military force was organized, including the company to which Mr. Swan belonged, and was ordered to march and encamp on the plains of Sandusky, about fifty miles north of Franklinton, as a protection to southern Ohio. Mr. Swan was taken from the ranks and appointed aid to the commanding general, with the rank of major. This appointment was made in recognition of Mr. Swan's services as secretary to the commander. After six weeks' service the force returned and was discharged.

In the fall of the same year Mr. Swan was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the State legislature. This could hardly be considered an interruption of his professional life, for the knowledge of legislation which this position placed within his reach was doubtless as valuable an accession to his legal acquirements as could be obtained at that time. He served but one session. Soon after Mr. Swan opened his office in Columbus, his practice became very large and very lucrative. . .

During the war with England Franklinton was the head-quarters of the northwestern army; and after its close, in 1815, a great deal of litigation arose from private contracts growing out of military operations. This class of litigation soon ended; but there was another class which occupied the courts until a very late date. When the Northwest Territory was ceded by the State of Virginia to the United States, the former reserved the portion lying between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers for the satisfaction of the claims of her officers and soldiers who had served during the Revolutionary War. The titles in this district — which was known as the Virginia Military District — depended upon rules and customs for which the history of the common law did not furnish any precedent, nor its principles any analogy. In this class of business Mr. Swan's practice increased so rapidly that he was soon retained on one side or the other of nearly every case of importance. Other civil business and a large criminal practice gave him full employment. He attended regularly the courts in a circuit of ten counties, and often was retained in important cases in other counties. As may readily be imagined, the practice of law was attended with many embarrassments. There were but few libraries, and none were extensive. It was impossible to carry many books on horseback. The lawyer on the circuit was for the most part obliged to rely upon his own resources, and his success depended upon his ready use of them. Business was conducted by the court, in many instances, in great haste. Here Mr. Swan's remarkable quickness of perception and his facility in the despatch of business gave him great advantage. Practice also developed in him a great and unusual skill in conducting a case, — in its management from beginning to end; in the examination in chief and in the cross-examination of witnesses; in fine, in bringing a case to the stage of its being presented to the jury in the most favorable condition possible. In 1816–1817 the Ohio legislature held its first session in Columbus, and Mr. Swan was again a member of the House of Representatives. At this session it was proposed to amend the constitution of the State, for the purpose of curing some defects in the judicial system. Mr. Swan was chairman of a select committee appointed to report on the subject. A report was made, recommending certain amendments, but it was not adopted.

In 1823 Mr. Swan was appointed to fill a vacancy in the office of Presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the judicial circuit in which Franklin county was included. This court was composed of one judge for the circuit, and three associate judges in each of the several counties composing the circuit; and all were elected by the legislature, on joint ballot by the two houses.

When Mr. Swan took his seat on the Bench, his attention became attracted by the frequent occurrence of the petty offence of assault and battery. The crime was very common, and was rather encouraged than checked by the mildness of the punishment in case of conviction. The penalty attached by law to the offence was fine, or imprisonment in the county jail, at the discretion of the court; but the fine was the only punishment inflicted. Almost every neighborhood had its petty tyrant, who was the terror of the community; and it was customary for rude and violent men to take the law into their own hands, and seek summary redress for every fancied injury. A fine was no punishment to offenders of this class, for many of them could not pay a fine; and if they could, they thought the payment of it established their right to the commission of further violence. Judge Swan determined to try what virtue there was in the infliction of the severer penalty. The first case that came before him was well adapted for the application of the new mode of punishment. The offender had been tried, convicted, and fined several times; and on this occasion contemplated the usual result with indifference. He was confounded when he heard the sentence of imprisonment in the county jail: this was a disgrace. As Judge Swan was going out of court after adjournment he passed the defendant, who sat awaiting the preparation of the writ for his commitment. The defendant addressed the judge, and with tears implored him to go back and change the sentence by substituting fine for imprisonment. He offered to pay the judge two hundred dollars at once, if he would do so, and increased the offer to two hundred and fifty dollars, without being in the least aware that he was committing a greater offence than the one for which he was about to be imprisoned. A few examples of this sort proved efficacious in suppressing, to a great degree, offences of this character; and when Judge Swan left the Common Pleas bench, after six years' service, they were of rare occurrence in his circuit.

While still in the Court of Common Pleas Judge Swan was appointed to fill a vacancy which occurred in the Supreme Court. He sat one year, or to the end of the term which he had been appointed to complete. He resumed the practice of the law in 1831. His business increased not only in the State courts, but in the United States district and circuit courts, which then were held in Columbus.

Subsequently Mr. Swan was twice appointed one of the Fund Commissioners of the State, — an office which grew out of the creation of the State debt contracted for the purpose of internal improvements. The last appointment was made in 1842.

About the time he was appointed judge of the Common Pleas Court he was elected president of the Franklin Bank of Columbus, — which office he held until the expiration of its charter, in 1842. In the management of this bank he was known as a sound and skilful banker. His extensive knowledge of the business of the community and of those who conducted it, — which embraced within its scope every man who dealt with banks, — and his watchful attention to their operations, enabled him to protect the bank from any serious losses from its large host of borrowers; while his sense of duty in the discharge of his trust prevented him from using the bank for his own purposes. In this careful and conscientious attention to the interests of the bank, he was cordially aided by the co-operation of an able and honest board of directors.

In 1845 two systems of banking were authorized by a new banking law. One system was composed of a number of branch banks, established in different parts of the State, under the supervision of a board of control known as the State Bank of Ohio. The board of control was composed of one representative from each branch. The State Bank and the branches were each independent corporations. The branches issued the circulation, which they received under certain conditions from the State Bank.

Judge Swan was appointed by the law one of the commissioners to organize this system; and when the organization was complete, he was unanimously chosen president of the State Bank. The labors of this office were very onerous, as he was obliged by law to sign every note that was issued. But the burden of the responsibility of the situation was heavier than that of the manual labor which it imposed. There were but few men in the State who could so easily have carried the two burdens.

The banking system was successful in all particulars. It gave to the community a sound and acceptable currency, which was the more popular from the presence of the familiar signature at the bottom of the notes; it furnished also to the community institutions for the transacting of its business that were as sound and trustworthy as they were convenient, and made to the stockholders ample returns upon their investments. It was in all respects one of the most important aids to the State in the new career of prosperity which began with the general recovery from the crisis of 1857.

In 1859, finding that the close confinement to which the labors of the office subjected him was impairing his health, he resigned; and thereafter his time was spent in the management of his private affairs, and in studies of a general character.

In 1819 Judge Swan was married to Mrs. Amelia Western, daughter of George and Mary Aldrich of Mendon, Massachusetts. She was born there December 20, 1785. To them were born four children, — Sarah, George, Jane, and Albert. To the welfare of his family and to the education, training, and advancement of his children Judge Swan was intensely devoted. He hoped to see his sons, who were promising in their youth, succeed him in his business. He would early have retired from the Bar; but his elder son, on approaching manhood, having determined to practise law, he continued in his profession, that he might aid the young man in the beginning of his career. Instead of being realized, his hope was painfully blasted. In the winter of 1840 George left home to pursue his studies at the Law School of Harvard University. On the thirteenth of January he embarked at New York on the steamer "Lexington," bound for Stonington. During the night the vessel was burned, and George was lost. Nothing was heard of him after he went on the boat, and it was never known in what manner he perished. After this event Judge Swan gradually relinquished his practice, and definitely retired from the bar in 1844. There was still another heavy blow to fall upon him. The remaining son entered the Freshman class of Harvard University in the autumn of 1843. In January he left with a view of spending a few weeks with his friends. He was taken sick on the passage from Boston, and on his arrival at New York was conveyed to the residence of his sister, Mrs. Whiting. His family was immediately informed of his condition. As the only communication was by mail, and all travel west of Cumberland in the State of Maryland was by stage-coach, there was great delay; and the father's only consolation was in the fact that he reached his beloved son's bedside before weakness or insensibility prevented conversation. Albert died on the fourth of February. The warmest affection existed between father and son; it was all that a father could feel, all that a son could exhibit. Judge Swan never recovered from this double loss. He never spoke of his sons, and could not bear any allusion to them.

His principal object in accepting the office of president of the State Bank, in the July following Albert's death, was distraction from the sorrow for which there was no relief. The salary was small, — utterly inadequate to the labors and responsibilities of the situation; but he had occupation, and that was all he sought.

Mrs. Swan died on the fifth day of November, 1859. Judge Swan, in his diary, concludes his notice of her illness and death in these words: "Thus is closed the saddest chapter of my life. Whether I shall ever commence another is doubtful. I feel as if my own life was drawing to a close." He wrote no more. His own death occurred on the seventh of February, 1860, after a painful but short illness.

Judge Swan was made an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, July 20, 1854.

It will be seen from this brief memoir that there was but a small portion of Judge Swan's life that was not occupied by severe manual or mental labor. His reputation was, however, established long before his labors ceased. He thought of leaving the Bar several years before the loss of his eldest son, in 1840. Before even that purpose was entertained he had secured universal recognition as a sound lawyer, as an able advocate, as an accomplished man of business, and as a man of strict integrity in all these relations. More than this, he was generally regarded as a man who possessed more power than was exhibited or called for in the discharge of his duties. He seemed to be superior to his work. In fact he seemed to have the capacity to possess all knowledge, — as well the knowledge "of the cedar that is in Lebanon, as of the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." His opinion was a power in the community to as great an extent as was possible in the case of one who neither occupied any public office, nor was identified with any political party. He was consulted by men of all classes and of all parties on subjects of public and private interest. In general conversation he often amused himself in advancing startling theories; but when he came to act and decide, either on his own account, in connection with his duties as a lawyer or banker, or in friendly counsel with those who sought his advice, there was nothing startling in his methods; his judgment had the basis of plain, practical common-sense. His advice always looked to obedience to law, to the maintenance of order in society, to the faithful discharge of public and private obligations, and to the strict and conscientious performance of trusts, official and private.

He never forgot the days of his early struggles in life. He had an encouraging word and a ready assistance for the young men of his profession, and his practice of benevolence was not limited to that class. He was firm and constant in his friendships. His acquaintance was very large, and his friends were many. He never forgot a kindness shown to him, but repaid it with a lavish hand, and in some cases by acts of beneficence which were continued to the day of his death.

Judge Swan was not a communicant of any religious denomination. He was, however, a regular attendant on the services of the Presbyterian Church, and was a firm believer in the fundamental truths of the Christian religion.

FRANK VOSE

Frank Vose was born October 13, 1826, at Augusta, Maine. He was an only son, but had two sisters; namely, Caroline Augusta, who married Jacob W. McMain, and Paulina Weston, who married W. Henry McMain. His father, Robert Charles Vose, was a man of superior mental gifts. In business affairs he was active, sagacious, upright, and successful. Being of an accommodating and genial spirit, he was endeared to the community. Important trusts were confided to him by the State, the county, and the town. He discharged them all with ability and faithfulness, and at his death, which occurred June 28, 1836, his children were left with competent means for their support. The mother of Frank Vose, who is represented to have been a lady of ability and accomplishments, was the only daughter of the late Mr. Joshua Gage, for several years a member of Congress from the State of Maine. She died October 5, 1839, when her son Frank was about thirteen years of age. For the last seven years of his minority he resided in the family of the writer of this memoir.

In physical structure Frank was below the medium stature; during his minority he was slender, but compact and muscular. It is said that, after removing to the South, he became thickset, weighing about one hundred and seventy-five pounds. In childhood and youth he was noted for a graceful and manly deportment. He was a fine-looking young man. Though taciturn, he was popular; exerting among his companions, without apparent effort, a controlling influence. A quick discernment of other persons' motives, while his own were kept concealed, seemed in him a matter of course. In soundness of judgment as to common things, and as to the proprieties of conduct in social life, he ripened early. His emotional nature was held under strong control. His mental powers were of a high order, though physically he was inclined to inaction; his mind, when applied, was quite extended in its range, acute in its discriminations, and strictly logical, without mistiness in its processes. His powers were happily balanced, giving promise of a fair measure of success in almost any occupation in which he should engage.

With such marked capabilities, it is not wonderful that his guardian hoped for him a distinguished future. But for such a result Frank appeared unaspiring; the requisite ambition could not be aroused. He was averse to mental application, and to an academical and collegiate course he greatly objected. But as his mind seemed happily fitted for legal pursuits, he was persuaded to read in that department in the office of his guardian. Though with many intermissions, for about a year his readings were pursued leisurely and without earnestness; yet his progress in acquiring legal principles and legal reasonings was highly encouraging. As his attainments were almost without effort, so they seemed, in his estimation, almost without value.

Pressing persuasion, however, procured a half-reluctant engagement to adopt the law as his permanent profession. With that view he entered Bowdoin College; but left before graduation. That he was gifted with unusual capacities, was at once discovered by his instructors. Their expectations were high, but were not realized. His sluggishness could not be overcome. There still remained a hope that his good sense, and a view of the honors and emoluments of success in the profession, would overcome the obstacle. As he was again stimulated to seek the preliminary classical education, for that purpose he became a member of Yale College; the attempt was a failure. He then became anxious to enter upon a sea-faring life, and made a voyage to Europe; but in its results he was disappointed. His temperament tended to melancholy. His oldest sister had died; he had very few known relatives; he was continually narrowing his sources of enjoyment; and all attempts to interest and gladden him were without success. With a taste for music he was not gifted. Female society had no attractions for him, and hence he derived but little benefit from its softening and refining power. In the animating influences of religion he did not partake.

By this time he was approaching his majority. Some of his connections were in business at New Orleans, and he resolved to seek his fortune there in mercantile pursuits. That he should become rich, and live in a superior and generous style, he always believed to be a part of his destiny. Accordingly, on becoming of age, he received his patrimony, and left New England, to which he never returned. His letters expressed much attachment for his adopted home, with prospects of his long-predicted position. He resided in Louisiana a little more than twelve years, chiefly at Baton Rouge. Reverses occurred, and his employments were varied. He was for a good while the bookkeeper of a mercantile house. His last letters showed that he was to remove to New Orleans with almost an assurance of a successful business in a co-partnership concern.

His death occurred by violence at New Orleans on February 25, 1860. All the particulars of the painful event which could be ascertained were inserted by the writer of this memoir in one of the newspapers of Augusta. The following is an extract: —

Mr. Frank Vose, whose case, so far as then known, was mentioned in one of the late newspapers, was shot in New Orleans about nine o'clock in the evening of February the twelfth, on one of the principal streets of that city. The report of the pistol brought the policemen to the spot. They found him senseless on the sidewalk, and removed him to Charity Hospital. It was found that the ball had entered the head just above and a little back of the right ear. An attempt to extract it was considered too hazardous. His consciousness returned the next morning, when he told his name and employment, and stated that on his coming out of a restaurant in the evening, a man came suddenly up and spoke to him; that he made some answer and turned away, and at the same moment felt an indescribable shock in the head, and that he remembered nothing further; and that he did not know why, nor by whom, the assault was made. It is believed that the assassin mistook him for some other person. There seems no prospect that any further light on the subject is to be had. Mr. Vose early had the assistance of his sister Paulina and of her husband. He was without pain, and soon became cheerful; expecting, as his physician also did, that he would recover. At three o'clock in the morning of February the twenty-fifth a coma supervened, and he sank into a stupor, which continued about fourteen hours, when death took place.

Mr. Vose became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, January 12, 1859.

The following pedigree of Mr. Vose has been furnished to the committee in charge of this volume by Mr. Edmund J. Baker, of Dorchester: —

Frank Vose, or Benjamin Franklin Vose, was a descendant of Robert Vose, the first of this family in America of whom we have any account. Robert Vose came from England with his wife and two sons and two daughters, and bought large tracts of land, in that part of Dorchester which is now Milton, of the heirs of the Worshipful John Glover. The homestead is now in the Vose family in Milton. The pedigree was through Thomas, the second son of Robert and Waitstill (Wyatt) Vose; Henry and Jemima (Tucker) Vose; Robert and Abigail (Sumner) Vose; Robert and Merriam (Vose) Vose; Samuel and Merriam (Billings) Vose; and Charles (afterwards Robert Charles) and Caroline (Gage) Vose. Robert Charles Vose was born in Milton in 1783; married Caroline Gage, of Augusta, in 1819; was a clerk in mercantile houses in Augusta, Maine, at one time a clerk of the courts for the county of Kennebec, and afterwards a pension agent.

SAMUEL JENNISON

SAMUEL JENNISON was a representative man of a class which may become more common hereafter under modern facilities of education. So long as learning was almost exclusively confined to academies and colleges, the refinements of scholarship seemed to be dependent upon intellectual habits that are the product of a university life; and the power of apt and graceful expression, in prose and verse, appeared to result only from a degree of scholastic training. But knowledge, with the present multiplied means of diffusion, is as an atmosphere to be inhaled, or a pervasive light and warmth, like that of the sun, which can reach and fertilize naturally productive mental faculties wherever they exist.

Engrossing business pursuits are not of necessity incompatible with the culture or the practical exercise of literary tastes. Indeed the one may be made the counterpoise of the other; inasmuch as the mind finds repose not so surely in inertness as in a change of occupation. Mental rest is to be gained more certainly from varying the objects of thought and interest than from vacuity or inaction. Physical fatigue may be unfavorable to intellectual exertion; but the mind, weary with weighty efforts and tasks, seeks relief in lighter meditations and in activities more genial, yet equally real and absorbing.

Mr. Jennison, in his business life, was one of the most laborious of men. It was difficult to conceive that he could find a moment to spare for anything else from his numerous responsible employments, and the multifarious cares and duties each returning day brought with it.

As cashier of a bank, the financial officer of a State hospital, the secretary and treasurer of a savings institution, besides having numerous minor offices and trusts, and with a large family and an invalid wife to cherish and provide for, it might well be imagined that all the moments of time would be required for unavoidable cares, to the exclusion of those literary gratifications which are usually fruits of leisure.

His relish for the simple game of backgammon, after a hard day's work, was significant of his frequent need of relaxation from an exhausting use of the brain, as his apparently reckless, but really adroit, handling of the pieces was significant of original methods and combinations of thought. There was a similar originality in his occasional way of keeping accounts by methods peculiar to himself.

Mr. Jennison's studies must also have been conducted after a manner of his own. With no tempting facilities for authorship, with few of the incitements of opportunity for research, without the inspirations that come from hours of ease and quiet reflection, he had first to train himself to the conditions which surrounded him, to study in snatches of unoccupied time, and to compose amid the constant chances of disturbance. Under more favorable circumstances he might have become distinguished as an historian, and as a poet of no mean degree of creative fancy.

The phrase "beware of the man of one book" is founded on the unity and concentration of ideas derived from the mastery of a particular subject, around which, as a nucleus, a multitude of collateral subjects may be made to cluster. So, too, a definite and habitual object of investigation not only gives effective value to odds and ends of time, and to the incidental observation of cognate facts, but serves as an artificial aid to the memory. Mr. Jennison's fondness for biography, and his interest in personal and family history, doubtless contributed to his large acquisition of general information. He enjoyed the chase, through the pages of history, of some particular name, and delighted to discover it in obscure associations, and to seize upon casual allusions to it occurring in newspapers or other ephemeral publications. For this purpose even brief intervals of leisure could be made available, with results often curious and gratifying in themselves, and leading to the accumulation of a valuable stock of erudition on a variety of subjects.

He always carried in his pocket strips of paper for the record of items that chanced to come in his way. It was thus that he produced two very interesting monographs. One was of James Ralph, the essayist and political pamphleteer in England during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, who was born in Philadelphia, and has the honor of a place in Pope's Dunciad, but of whom very little was then known in this country. The other was of Captain Thomas Coram, the projector of the hospital in London for foundlings, whose portrait was painted by Hogarth, and regarded as the artist's best production of the kind. Coram was in New England in the latter part of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, engaged in shipbuilding and other business. He lived in Boston and in Taunton, Massachusetts.

The poetical and humorous sides of Mr. Jennison's temperament are difficult to measure and describe. With the most tender and susceptible feelings, he was far from being a sentimentalist; and his benignant, but rather serious, countenance was by no means suggestive of wit. Yet the elements of poetry and humor were strong within him. Never guilty of committing a pun, never the perpetrator of an absolute jest, seldom approaching the harsher qualities of satire, the solid substance of his mind was permeated by delicate veins of pleasantry, that sparkled in the sunshine of his kindly poetical nature, like fresh rivulets from the hills dancing through the green and flowery meadows.

Mr. Jennison was the second son of Samuel Jennison, Esq., of Brookfield, Massachusetts; and was born at that place February 24, 1788. His father was a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1774, and a lawyer. His mother was a daughter of the Rev. Nathan Fiske, D.D., of Brookfield. His paternal grandfather, Dr. William Jennison, a respected physician, and his maternal grandfather both resided in that town.

In the year 1800, at the age of twelve, Samuel went to live with his uncle, the Hon. Oliver Fiske, of Worcester, a physician by education, but more a man of business, a politician, and an agriculturist by taste and occupation. Among other affairs, he had established a store for the sale of drugs and miscellaneous merchandise, in which he placed his nephew. There young Jennison remained, engaged in the various duties of "tending shop," until 1810, when he received the appointment of accountant in the Worcester Bank, — then the only institution of the kind between Boston and Pittsfield. In August, 1812, he was promoted to be cashier, and held that office till September, 1846, or more than thirty-four years; being not only the chief executive manager of the bank, but performing himself most of the clerical labor. At the organization of the Worcester County Savings Institution, in April, 1828, he was chosen its treasurer, and discharged all the duties belonging to that position till his resignation, in October, 1853. In February, 1847, he succeeded the Hon. Alfred D. Foster as treasurer of the State Lunatic Hospital, acting as such till June, 1857.

The above were his more important employments; but at various times he held other posts of public and private utility. He served the town of Worcester as its clerk, as its treasurer, and as one of the school committee; and for a period was treasurer of the First Parish. He was an early member of the American Antiquarian Society, and its first librarian. While he retained that office, however, — from 1814 to 1825, — the Society possessed no building for its books and other collections, and required no very large amount of personal attention. He was also its corresponding secretary from 1823 to 1826; its treasurer from 1829 to 1843, and from 1846 till his death. He was one of its publishing committee from 1820 to 1831, and a councillor from 1820 to the close of his life. The list of his treasurerships and other trusts is not exhausted; but enough have been mentioned to show the number and nature of his occupations. Whatever were his duties, he went about them quietly and patiently. They might, and often did, involve a good deal of thought and physical toil; but outsiders knew only that they were performed promptly and faithfully. In the early period of his cashiership the banks began to extend their operations from a simple agency for loans to an intimate connection with all the financial operations of productive industry; and it was his task to meet the exigencies of the change. This was of itself a heavy and absorbing responsibility. All his business transactions were conducted with a simplicity and directness of manner that inspired confidence and gave assurance of ability. It was not merely an impress of integrity and intelligence that attracted the observer; but the kindness and consideration that appeared in his intercourse with others created, besides feelings of respect, a warmer sentiment of personal regard. Unpretending, even to plainness of demeanor, he maintained an air of politeness and urbanity and the unaffected dignity of an open and virtuous mind, which gave to his manners and his presence their special distinction.

Mr. Jennison's literary efforts were of the most unassuming character, and were largely in the form of anonymous communications to the local press. He began early to contribute verses to the "Poet's Corner" of the Worcester Spy, when something had occurred to excite his sense of humor, or under the inspiration of more serious imaginative impulses; and he always continued the pleasant habit of addressing sonnets or stanzas to friends and relatives on special occasions. They accompanied Christmas and New Year's presents; frequently they were manifestations of sympathy in cases of affliction, varying, according to circumstances, from light and airy productions to earnest expressions of feeling and interest.

Not many of these compositions have been brought together, nor is it possible now to identify all that were printed. A few, going back in date as far as 1812, have been gathered into common-place books by one of his children. Though not always carefully revised, nor subjected to high literary finish, these productions exhibit much versatility of fancy, command of language, and poetic sensibility.

The prose of Mr. Jennison was not marked by vivacity of style so much as by the easy use of a choice vocabulary, derived from familiarity with the best English writers. He thought clearly, and his ideas were conveyed with precision and simplicity, and with a sufficient degree of picturesque perception to animate the narrative, but not to affect the gravity and dignity of the composition. As a writer of history, conscientious fidelity of investigation and a sensible analysis of personal attributes and motives would have characterized his productions. Many of his articles, perhaps most of them which appeared in print, were without other indications of their authorship than their neat and classical turns of thought, and their subject-matter, which friends would recognize at the time, but which are now not so readily distinguished.

While a comparatively young man he had formed the plan of preparing an American Biographical Dictionary, and made much progress in the collection of materials. When President Allen, of Bowdoin College, announced that he was engaged for a second time in a similar work, Mr. Jennison shrank from competition with so prominent a scholar, and generously permitted him to use many of his notes. It must have been a great disappointment to him to feel obliged to relinquish his cherished purpose, and what he doubtless intended for the *magnum opus* of his life.

He never abandoned the habit of gathering items of personal history; but they became less a matter of systematic research for immediate use. He left a large collection of such memoranda, now in possession of the American Antiquarian Society, arranged alphabetically under the respective names, without other editorial preparation. It is, however, a rich treasury of knowledge in that department of study. From this he had been accustomed at times to select facts for biographical sketches, when they were required or suggested by some occasion or event. Examples of these may be seen in his Memoir of John Hull, the mint-master, attached to the publication of his "Diaries" by the American Antiquarian Society; his notice of the family of Edward Rawson, the secretary of the colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1650 to 1686; and his papers on James Ralph and Thomas Coram, before referred to. He also drew from the same source the ready means of preparing obituary notices or historical sketches of prominent citizens then recently deceased, which were models of their kind. His tastes and tendencies were not so much those of a genealogist as of a biographer; and he was well qualified to be successful in combining with incidents of personal history instructive delineations of character. He became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, December 12, 1851; and few persons felt a more genuine and hearty interest in its operations.

The writer of Mr. Jennison's own obituary, the Rev. George Allen, says of him:—

> In a true sense of the word, Mr. Jennison was a man of letters, of refined and solid learning. . . . In regard to choice English literature the question was rather what he had not read, than what he had. Nor was his knowledge, careful and exact as it was, confined to what was written. He knew the writers themselves, who they were, what they did, when, where, with whom, and how they lived; and thus he read their writings as if the authors themselves were about him, to tell the very thoughts and intents of their hearts, as they never tell them to strangers. . . . It is altogether safe to say that no man in our Commonwealth knew so extensively, minutely, and accurately the personal history of American-born men of note, who spent their days in the Colonies or States of this land, or who became residents in whatever quarter of the globe. Nor was his knowledge less clear or minute respecting emigrants from the Old World to the New, from the earliest settlements of the Colonies, who, in any capacity, shed a distinct influence on those parts of the country where they either sojourned or dwelt.

In concluding this brief and imperfect tribute to the memory of Mr. Jennison, it may be said that he not only inherited good blood, but was born to a refined mental organization and naturally intellectual proclivities. His early childhood was passed amid the influences of an exceptionally cultivated society at Brookfield; and in his uncle's employment he had the frequent, if irregular, leisure of a country store. He is an excellent example of wise and practical self-culture, without extravagant or morbid excesses, and with no sacrifice or neglect of the ordinary duties and responsibilities of every-day life. He was married, in 1815, to Mary G. Ellery, of Newport, Rhode Island, a granddaughter of Chief Justice William Ellery, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. They had five children,—a son, and four daughters. Mr. Jennison died March 11, 1860, at the age of seventy-two.

To this paper the Committee on Memorials add the following note: Mrs. Jennison survived her husband, but died May 14, 1867. Their son Samuel is a well-known lawyer in Boston; one daughter, Katharine Almy, is unmarried, and resides at Worcester; another, Sarah Fiske, is the widow of the Rev. John Weiss, of Boston, and also resides in Worcester; another, Mary Ellery, the widow of Mr. John Bangs, of Springfield, resides in that city; and the youngest, Ann Elizabeth, not now living, was the wife of William Sumner Barton, Esq., of Worcester.

WILLIAM EDWARDS MAYHEW

William Edwards Mayhew was born at Williamsburg, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, September 27, 1784. The town lies a few miles north of Northampton, inland from the Connecticut River on one of its smaller affluents, among the hills of that region, and was in those days an ordinary farming town, with the usual characteristics of such localities in western Massachusetts. In these latter days it has modified its agricultural town-life with manufactures. Williamsburg was formerly a part of Hatfield, and was incorporated as a district in 1771. Its territory had been granted by the General Court, as early as 1736, to certain Hatfield volunteers in the Indian war of 1704; and like so many other localities in New England, connected itself with that patriotic soldiership which defended our early civilization from extinction. It held its first district meeting in 1772, and the name of Mayhew does not appear on the list of taxpayers or voters. It appears, however, that from 1771 to 1780 there was a large immigration to the town from eastern Massachusetts and Martha's Vineyard. As the Mayhews were a numerous family at the Vineyard, it is highly probable that the parents of the subject of this memoir were among these immigrants, though inquiry has, as yet, failed to establish the fact beyond question. If this be so, the Mayhews of Williamsburg were of a right sturdy Puritan stock, with traditions of philanthropy and piety, and not lacking in public ability and patriotism, as readily appears from their missionaries and their men in public office. As Mr. Mayhew was the eldest son, probably the eldest child, and born in 1784, and as the Mayhew name does not appear in 1772 on the town records, it is probable that his parents came to the town some time about the year 1780.

His parents were Freeborn and Hannah (Skiff) Mayhew, of whom the writer of this memoir has been able to gain no certain intelligence. Yet Skiff, as well as Mayhew, is an Old Colony name which still survives on upper Cape Cod and the Vineyard. Judge Sewall's Diary mentions the name of Skiff three times; and he mentions Major Skiff, curiously enough, in connection with Mr. Experience Mayhew, and both as citizens of Martha's Vineyard. In 1714 the names of Mayhew and Skiff appear in the diary as among the most respectable citizens of that locality. Of course the Christian names of Mr. Mayhew's parents are characteristically Puritan. Nor is there much to be accurately known of the life of parents or child in the new home among the Hampshire hills. The boy undoubtedly received such training as his family and locality furnished, which was that which usually came to a child of a respectable country citizen in the Connecticut valley, at the close of the last century. Mr. Mayhew always bore about with him, to his life's end, tokens that he had been strictly and wisely brought up, and that he had in him New England blood as good as any.

At some time early in his business career, perhaps at his majority or thereabouts, he removed to Charlemont in Franklin County, near the north line of the State, on Deerfield River, and opened a store there. It was undoubtedly the usual country store of curiously mixed merchandise, where the proprietor was expected to know the value of everything, from a farmer's scythe to a lady's silk dress. But whatever else is true, it cannot be denied that these same country stores have been the nurseries of our most successful New England merchants, and to a degree, of the merchants of the whole country. The frugality, foresight, and keen insight into what a country population needs on all sides of its economic life, have proved very successful and virile virtues under the strain of the wider business demands of our cities. That his business career in Charlemont had a success prophetic of his future prosperity may be inferred from the fact that he ventured to remove to Boston and measure himself with its keen and able merchants in a struggle for place and fortune.

The date of this removal can only be approximated. His name first appears in the Boston Directory for 1810, in Ward 4; also in 1811, in Ward 8. In 1812, his name is not on the tax-list; in 1813, he is taxed in Ward 4 as a dry-goods merchant, doing business at 2 Union Street. In 1814, 1815, 1816, his name does not appear among the taxpayers. From all this it is probable that he came to Boston about 1810; and later on, just before leaving for Baltimore, either resided out of the city limits, or was making his arrangements to go South. The tax-list shows that this was the day of small things with him, and in those days the habits of a young business man were apt to be somewhat migratory.

In 1816, Mr. Mayhew, now in his thirty-second year, removed to Baltimore, where he passed the remainder of his life, a period of some forty-four years, in business. We should sadly miss the lesson and the mercantile dynamics of Mr. Mayhew's career if we neglected to note the significance of the date of his settlement in Baltimore, and the commercial and social circumstances of his place and time. It will be perceived that the time was shortly after our war of 1812 with Great Britain, when our commerce, relieved from the stress of the most powerful navy of the world, again spread its sails for new ventures. It was a time of uncertainty and national poverty, due to the exhaustion caused by the war, and yet an epoch of hope and renewed activities.

Baltimore itself, always a favorite port of commerce, was just emerging from a country town to a city; but the substance and very sinews of its present commercial and social greatness were still to be created and fashioned by the enterprise and brain of its great merchants and citizens. It was laid out as a town in 1730, — just one hundred years later than the settlement of Boston, and about one hundred and twenty-three years later than Jamestown. In 1775 the town had only 564 houses and 5,934 inhabitants. In 1780 it had its first Custom-House, and in 1784, the date of Mr. Mayhew's birth, its first market-house and its streets lighted with oil lamps, while three constables and fourteen watchmen sufficed for its police. In 1796 it had, in round numbers, a population of 20,000; in 1800, 26,000; in 1810, 35,000; in 1820, 62,000. It will be perceived that while the growth of Baltimore was often rapid, it was especially so in the last mentioned decade, in which Mr. Mayhew took up his residence there. There was not only new commercial enterprise abroad, but a new immigration from the North, especially from New England, into this Southern port, and Mr. Mayhew was one of these new-comers. From this time, indeed, dates that commercial and social intimacy which still exists between Boston and Baltimore.

Nor should we be lacking in justice to their Southern brethren, if we should affirm that these same merchants from the North gave a strong hand to building up the present magnificent commerce and manufactures of Baltimore. Undoubtedly old Maryland was a most charming and gracious province, given to social amenities and hospitality; but its people were not of a mercantile disposition. Its bountiful soil, its large landed proprietors, living on their plantations, — like the Ridgeleys, the Carrolls, and the Catons, — the institution of slavery itself, were not elements that disposed men to cultivate the mercantile virtues. The new blood from the North derived from Maryland, indeed, a rarer social grace; but it gave its new home a robuster energy and a keener commercial thrift. The Jarvises, the Shaws, the Mayhews, the Tiffanys, the Williamses, and somewhat later on, men like Enoch Pratt, Johns Hopkins and Thomas Whitridge, did work that lies among the foundation-stones of Baltimore's mercantile prosperity. Nor should great honor be denied to Scottish immigrants, like William Paterson, for a like service.

When Mr. Mayhew came to Baltimore, in 1816, it was a quaint place, and its description would sound strangely to those who only know its present grace and grandeur. Land was sold by the acre, and not at a high price at that; tobacco was just coming to be shipped from that port, instead of from the plantations; St. Paul's Churchyard was full of gravestones, with its bell-tower standing detached among them, and haunted, as the young folk and negroes thought; old-fashioned inns, with their court-yards full of the long covered Cumberland wagons and mules by which goods were distributed in the country; the pillory, whipping-post, and stocks, still used and sheltered under the arch of the old Court-house on Calvert Street, where the Battle Monument now stands; Jones Falls River, running through meadows flecked with browsing cattle; and the hills, where now for miles are warehouses and noble private residences, then were sand-hills, creviced by winter-rains into ravines and gullies, or covered with primitive forests,—such were some of the colors of old Baltimore, when Mr. Mayhew and his brother merchants from the North came to settle.

The life of a merchant is apt to run to monotones, and to lack, to the general public, picturesque and striking colors. Mr. Mayhew's life forms no exception to the rule. Other men, like the farmer, the miner, or the mechanic, may more directly discover or create that capital which prevents society from going back to a wild estate; but the merchant formulates capital into wise uses and conditions, so that it may fulfil its mission in civilization, as it directs and aids profitable enterprise. He works very much at the foundations of society; and his task is less patent and brilliant than that of the warrior, writer, or perhaps statesman, whenever statesmanship has not become a lost art in the land. And yet the merchant feeds the roots of social comfort, elegance, and leisure of life in others, helps make family station permanent, and bears more than his share of the world upon his shoulders.

If, then, the full details of Mr. Mayhew's life were present, as they are not, we should find no high colors, or excitement in them. A successful merchant's mercantile life is an intellectual one, applied to trade, and has a mathematical look, very instructive as to the economic problems of the world, but devoid of passion and rarely thrilling. To say that, at the urgent request of its directors, Mr. Mayhew was for many years the president of the Farmers' and Planters' Bank of Baltimore, at that time one of the oldest and strongest banks of that city; that he was president of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Institute, and one of the oldest trustees of the First Independent Religious Society, would seem to show the respect and confidence with which his associates and compeers regarded him; but it would fail to disclose the real power and wisdom which he gave to building up the financial and social interests of his adopted city, and the color and vitality of his contribution to posterity.

A few carefully selected facts out of Baltimore history may serve to show the reader of this memoir, his imagination giving valid assistance thereto, some of the circumstances of Mr. Mayhew's mercantile and social life, in the years when he did his work.

In 1815 the Washington Monument was begun, and the first meeting of merchants on the exchange took place. In 1816 Baltimore land was bored for coal, and four million dollars subscribed for the Bank of the United States, — all signs of new wealth and new mercantile energy. In 1817 the Unitarian church, where he afterwards worshipped, was begun. In 1819–1821 the yellow fever prevailed. In 1819 the Society of Arts was founded. In the next year James Dall gave five thousand dollars to establish free schools on the plan of Boston. In 1827 stock to the amount of four million dollars was subscribed for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In short, Mr. Mayhew's Baltimore life covered the years when the foundations of that city's mercantile prosperity were strongly and wisely laid. The history of those foundations, as instanced in the inception and carrying out of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, — an enterprise of the greatest moment to Baltimore in all time, and beset from start to finish with the most bitter trials, — would be anything but a short one. It is the testimony of Mr. Mayhew's contemporaries that to most of these undertakings he lent a strong and wise hand. He died before the outbreak of civil war, and did not live to suffer from the personal alienations which attended it; but by constitution, education, and conviction he was a man loyal to the Union.

He died in Baltimore, April 11, 1860, aged seventy-five. The rank and wealth of the city, irrespective of religion or political opinion, were thoroughly represented at his funeral.

Of successful merchants there are in general two kinds. The one shows a certain storminess of energy which is forever breaking over obstacles, and driving by sheer force its wedge to the heart of the business it undertakes. The other has a more keen and quiet thrust into affairs, and reaches home as deep as the other. Mr. Mayhew was of the latter class of merchants. Keen he must have been, and far-sighted, and full of energy well under control; and his life was an unruffled atmosphere of influence rather than at any time an outbreak of power. He won a large fortune, as money was counted in his generation, as many others did; only his fortune when won was clean, and had neither blood nor the tears of the wronged upon it. He had the mercantile rectitude of the old school, where a man's word was as good as his bond.

Personally Mr. Mayhew was a small man of a fresh complexion, and blue eyes, and a placid and gentle manner, and not given to many words. The writer of this memoir was officially called on to conduct his funeral, and make an address. That there might be no false eulogy, he consulted beforehand divers of Mr. Mayhew's business associates, and from their private and unbiassed testimony colored his address. The years which have intervened since then have brought the writer no reasons to change the verdict then submitted, and he therefore makes an extract as a fair summary of Mr. Mayhew's life.

Born in a distant State, of Puritan ancestry, this man possessed the Puritan virtues without the Puritan defects. Firmly attached to that form of our Christian faith which through all his life he steadfastly professed, he was yet charitable towards all men. A high-minded and successful merchant for many years in this community, elevated to the responsibility of public posts by the confidence of his companions, his administration thereof was ennobled by the untiring integrity and industry of his methods; a conservative and peaceful citizen and patriot; a wise philanthropist, ready to lift up the fallen and aid the suffering by the exercise of a careful charity; a faithful friend, he had many friends whom in their lives of difficulty he never failed, and who do not fail him now in this presence with their tears and their remembrance; a prudent counsellor, an exemplary parent, a loving husband, an honorable and honored man. An almost womanly delicacy and purity of character, joined to masculine vigor of judgment, made many strong men look to him for counsel, and many true women lean towards him in friendship. The river of his life flowed on evenly between level banks, without ripple and away from storms. The fragrance of his memory makes the spring air sweeter to us all. I say it on the harmonious and concurrent testimony of public opinion, that they who knew him best, honored and loved him most. It is the highest earthly reward for a man to receive from his peers a crown. Him, long ago, his comrades and this community have crowned with their plaudits, their admiration, and their love.

One of his contemporaries, and a distinguished Baltimore merchant, writes of him recently: "I knew Mr. Mayhew thoroughly. You know my opinion of him. He was kind and generous to his employees, and remarkably so to the poor and unfortunate. He was true to his friends through good and evil; a citizen loved, trusted and honored."

Mr. Mayhew was thrice married. In 1823 he married, in Baltimore, Maria Middleton Hobby, widow of his late partner, John Hobby, and daughter of John Middleton Lovell of Massachusetts. By her he had two children, one who died young, and Mrs. Susan B. Eaton, now living in Baltimore, widow of the late George N. Eaton. In 1843 he married, for his second wife, Miss Mary C. Green of Burlington, Vermont. By her he had one son, William Green Mayhew, who was entered at Harvard College, but died before graduation in 1863. His last wife was Miss Abby Poor of Baltimore. This marriage was childless.

Mr. Mayhew became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society February 26, 1850.

BENJAMIN VINTON FRENCH

Benjamin V. French was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, July 29, 1791. His father was Moses French, and his mother Eunice, daughter of Captain John and Hephzibah Vinton. He was named for his uncle, Dr. Benjamin Vinton, a physician of Marshfield, who served also for a time as surgeon in the United States Navy.

His first ancestor in this country was John[1] French, who settled at Braintree as early as 1640, and was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts, May 29, 1644, — the descent being through Thomas,[2] Moses,[3] Deacon Moses,[4] and Moses,[5] his father.

In 1812 Benjamin went to Boston; where, in 1816, he opened a grocery store at 78 Newbury Street. The name of the street was changed in 1824 to Washington Street, the number being 334. He followed that business for twenty years; and by energy, diligence, integrity, and an obliging disposition toward his customers, acquired a handsome property.

In 1818 he began to take a special interest in agricultural affairs; and while continuing to reside in Boston, he added to his other pursuits the cultivation of a farm in Braintree. In 1824 he made further purchases of land in that town with a view to a future residence there. Being naturally fond of rural life and the cultivation of the soil, he relinquished business in Boston in 1836 and retired to Braintree, where he devoted his time exclusively to his farm.

His estate finally contained about two hundred acres, the larger portion of which was under cultivation. This was inclosed with the most substantial stone walls, many of them laid at great expense. He was a thorough cultivator, and instituted perfect drainage, — that most essential requisite for success, — wherever it was needed. His intention was from the first to put the whole premises in the highest order, and with the most perfect arrangements for a model farm. He was ever ready to try new suggestions, with regard to improvements and the use of modern implements in agriculture, and had one of the first mowing machines in Norfolk County. He had a good library, especially of agricultural and horticultural works, and added to it whatever was valuable in the progress of his times; and had the enterprise of testing by actual experiment the value of the various occasional treatises and reports that appeared on these subjects. In the department of fruit culture he was especially interested; and he sought to add to his extensive orchards every variety of note, and to prove their comparative excellence under his personal examination. He devoted special attention to the cultivation of the apple, of which he had in his orchard more than two hundred varieties. In 1851 he exhibited at the rooms of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society two hundred and thirty dishes of the apple and pear in as many varieties, for which he received a handsome piece of silver plate, as an award of merit. He had large collections of other fruits, and his endeavor was to add everything new which had the promise of being valuable; and thus to prove by personal observation what kinds were best adapted to this climate and our varied soils. He also had a good green-house and garden, with the usual variety of plants; but the most conspicuous object on his farm was one of the largest and most costly barns in the Commonwealth, which he had erected at an expense of more than ten thousand dollars.

This was of a fine architectural appearance, and embraced every convenience of that day. He had a fine herd of Devon cattle, which he exhibited at the cattle-shows of the Norfolk and other agricultural societies.

Mr. French was not much in political life, nor was he interested in other objects that had no immediate connection with his favorite pursuits. He often said that his highest ambition was to excel in the "delightful calling," as he termed it, of a tiller of the soil.

While a resident in Boston, he served the city as an assistant assessor, overseer of the poor, director of the House of Reformation for Juvenile Delinquents, besides being a director of a bank, and of an insurance company.

In his native town he was often placed on important committees. In 1843 he was a member of the Executive Council of the Commonwealth, under the administration of Governor Morton. He was admitted to the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 28, 1845, as a resident member, and he made himself a life-member in 1857.

He was fond of good society, and of making acquaintance with gentlemen of distinction; and he held amicable relations with a large number of men of that class. He was very interesting in conversation, especially in the reminiscences of his interviews with prominent characters; but his strongest desire was to associate himself with the most advanced men in agricultural and horticultural science, and from them he sought to obtain instruction and advice. He availed himself of every opportunity of inviting them to the inspection of his farm, and to the bounties of his hospitality. But one of the greatest delights of his life was to meet with the Massachusetts Agricultural Club, at its monthly gatherings, where he could commune with kindred spirits, and keep pace with the progress of the age in his favorite pursuits.

He was much interested in the improvement and pros-

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perity of his own town, especially in the restoration and adornment of its old burying-ground, in which he was finally to be laid. It was at his suggestion that other lands were added to the cemetery, and fitted up with its present graceful appointments. The plans of the tombs were procured by him, and the inclosing of the whole in a substantial manner was done under his superintendence. The beautiful design of the new church edifice, which was erected in Braintree in 1857, was adopted in conformity with his advice.

Mr. French was also much interested in the foundation of Mount Auburn Cemetery. He had previously conversed with Mr. George W. Brimmer, the owner of "Sweet Auburn," and the gentleman of whom the lands were purchased, who had visited the famous *Père la Chaise* of Paris, and was anxious that a rural cemetery should be opened in the vicinity of Boston. But the same idea had before this occurred to Dr. Jacob Bigelow, corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He had long desired such a cemetery; and to that gentleman the public are more indebted than to any other man, for this most benevolent enterprise.

The lands for Mount Auburn Cemetery were purchased in 1831, of Mr. Brimmer, by a company of one hundred gentlemen, and were deeded to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society for a cemetery and an experimental garden, reserving a burial lot for each of the subscribers to the fund. They were thus retained under the government of the Horticultural Society, with a cemetery and garden committee, until the separation of the cemetery from the society, in the year 1835, under the provision that the society should thereafter receive a certain proportion of the net income of the cemetery. This contract is perpetual, and has been a most important aid in advancing the science of horticulture, and the prosperity of that most popular society.

Mr. French was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural, the United States Agricultural, the American Pomological, and the Norfolk Agricultural Societies, and of the Massachusetts Agricultural Club. In each of these associations he held the office of vice president.

He was a strong friend of agricultural education, and aided in procuring the charter of the Massachusetts School of Agriculture in 1856. This institution was to have been established at Springfield, but was superseded by the establishment of our State Agricultural college. He assisted in forming the Central State Board of Agriculture, which became the present Massachusetts State Board, and in all these he was a prominent member.

Mr. French married, first, September 22, 1817, his cousin Caroline French, born July 29, 1798, daughter of Abijah French of Boston. She died September 4, 1843, aged forty-five years. Her twin sister, Catherine, wife of George W. Thayer, died a fortnight later of the same disease. He married, secondly, October 12, 1848, Harriet Alice Seger, born December 27, 1817, daughter of William Seger, a native of the city of London, long resident of the city of New York, now deceased. Her mother was Blandina Newkirk of New York, whose father was cousin to De Witt Clinton. Mr. French left no children.

Mr. French's attachments to his native town, for which he had done much in the way of rural improvement, to the various institutions with which he had been connected, to his beautiful home on which he had expended so much money, and to his agricultural friends whom he loved so dearly, indicated his prevailing feelings before disease had laid its hand upon his stalwart form, and brought to a close his useful life.

Mr. French's interest in the Massachusetts Horticultural Society and the Massachusetts Agricultural Club continued through his life; and by his bequest to the institution first named, his name will be perpetuated in its annual list of prizes for the improvement of the apple, while the society shall continue.

Mr. French died at Harrison Square, Dorchester, April 11, 1860, aged sixty-eight years. Appropriate services were held in his favorite church in Braintree, where numerous friends had assembled to do honor to his memory, and bear testimony to his worth; and from which he was borne, by the members of the Agricultural Club, to the tomb which he had prepared for his last resting-place.

CHARLES STEARNS

Horace and Tacitus agree that writing history is a dangerous business; but the historian's reproach of his own times, as "incuriosa suorum ætas," will not apply to the present day of genealogical research.

My first thought, on being asked to prepare a biographical sketch for these pages, was to excuse myself, not only as my father's later years were much occupied with controversies of various kinds, but also on the ground of near relationship. A second thought, however, decided me to undertake the more pleasing task of giving my early recollections of his private life and of his personal traits and habits. This at least a son may properly do; for no one knew better than the poet Horace what is proper to be said, done, or written; and he concludes a sketch of his father with —

> At hoc nunc
> Laus illi debetur, et a me gratia major.
> Nil me pœniteat sanum patris hujus.

Dr. Bond, in his Genealogies and History of Watertown, Massachusetts, furnishes the following record: —

Stearns, Charles, born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, November 13, 1788, was bred a mason, and has been extensively engaged as a builder; settled in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1812, where he now resides [1855]. Besides numerous municipal appointments, he has been Representative and Senator in the State Legislature. He was the projector and is the proprietor of the Water Works of that town. He married, December 30, 1816, Julia Ann, daughter of the Rev. Aaron Woodward, of

Wilbraham, and granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, of New Haven, the historian. She died January 28, 1833; and he married Amanda, daughter of Abner Brown, of Monson, Massachusetts, and widow of Hiram Norcross. She died April 7, 1836; and he married, January 10, 1838, Mary, daughter of Festus Stebbins, of Springfield.

My father died April 11, 1860; and from a leader in the Springfield Republican the following passages are taken: —

> The death of Mr. Stearns closes a career at once eventful, active, and extended. . . . At an early period in his business career he became an operator in real-estate; and probably no man has lived in the town who has built and owned so many houses as he. At one time he had a large number of tenants, and it was his stereotyped reply to applicants, when all were occupied, that he had none, but could build one immediately.
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> Mr. Stearns was a ready and a willing worker in every public enterprise. He was very active in procuring the experimental surveys for the Western Railroad, now the Boston & Albany, and in getting subscriptions to the stock. In fact, there was hardly a man upon the line to whose energy and enterprise that great work was more indebted for its inception and completion than to his. The Springfield Aqueduct was also a child of his begetting. The starting of the Indian Orchard enterprise is also traceable to him, we believe. It would be impossible for us to recall all the matters into which he has entered as an active power. There was a time when Charles Stearns was in everything. Nor were his business talent, sound sense, and untiring industry unappreciated by his fellow-citizens. He was elected a member of the State Senate in 1845, and has represented the town more than once, we believe, in the lower branch of the Legislature. In the closing months of his life he was engaged upon a history of Springfield.
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> He was generous to young men, polite and cordial to women, and respected as a man of business and a citizen. . . . He was a vigorous and a voluminous pamphleteer, and his pamphlets devoted to matters of controversy would make a formidable volume. . . . Mr. Stearns was not a sordid nor a sensual man. He lived in the light, and when he fought his antagonists, he fought openly and without disguise.

From the above extracts it may be seen that my father's life was one of restless activity. He must have prospered very soon after he settled in Springfield; for I remember that, as early as 1825, we were living in a good-sized brick house, lately taken down, on the north-east corner of Maple and Union Streets. Our garden and orchard extended up Union Street as far as where School Street now is, and bearing thence eastwardly in rear of the houses above, included the hillside slope now bounded by Mulberry Street and the cemetery. The ground on the opposite corner, for some distance up Union Street, was also a part of our homestead, devoted to early corn, melons and potatoes; and which, much against my will, I had to assist in planting. Our garden, with one exception, — that of Dr. Edwards, on Chestnut Street, — was the finest in the town. My father did a great deal of the work himself in the early morning hours. We had the finest asparagus, the earliest lettuce and peas, with a superabundance of peaches and other fruit; and passers along Maple Street used to stop and admire the flowers. It must be remembered that this was more than half a century ago, when such things were not common in an inland town. A few years later we had hot-beds and a greenhouse, with a drunken Scottish gardener, who sold the plants, or let them freeze during my father's absence at the Legislature.

The planting of shade trees was one of the pleasures he indulged in as a recreation, as I have good reason to remember; for I was compelled, out of school hours, and when I would much rather have been at play with the other boys, to assist in the work by holding the young trees erect while he "sighted" them. Most of the maple trees along Maple Street and up Union Street, and perhaps the mulberry trees on Mulberry Street, which we set out, are, I think, still vigorous. I speak of this shade-tree planting, because it was, at that time, a sort of innovation; for, excepting the elms and other great trees along the "Main Street" of our New England villages, but few others were planted. But my father liked innovations; and I remember he had to argue the cause of paved sidewalks and shade trees with passers-by, some of whom objected to "too many trees." The present generation have gone to quite the other extreme; but that is a fault easily remedied. In this work of tree planting, and among my earliest recollections, was the moving of an elm of considerable size from the inside of our yard, where it stood too near the house, to the corner of the street. In the operation it was badly barked and bruised, so that a good deal of the wood was laid bare. But my father tended and nursed it for years; and it must have had good surgery at his hands, for it is now one of the finest trees in Springfield, and ought to be called the Stearns Elm.

Farming also, but of rather an experimental kind, very soon took a share of his attention. For it must be borne in mind that during all this while, as for years after, he continued active in his regular business, building anything that offered, from cotton mills at Chicopee Falls to a neighbor's chimney. On old maps of Springfield, far out on the road to Chicopee Falls, "C. Stearns' farmhouse" is laid down. It is on the sandy elevated plateau that extends for ten miles back from Springfield to the Holyoke range of blue hills on the east. This poor land had a nominal value of five dollars an acre. Everybody owned some of it, and after cutting off the small growth of pine for firewood, thought no more about it. The question would be asked, "Stearns, what are you trying to do there?" followed by a discussion on the possibility of making that almost worthless land productive. Young fruit-trees were brought from the Long Island nurseries, and acres were planted with the morus multicaulis mulberry. With his characteristic faith in new things, improved agricultural implements were sure to follow each semi-annual visit to Boston, as patent ploughs, churns, corn-shellers, cultivators, feed-cutters, and the like; while at our home place, we had fan-tailed pigeons, top-knot ducks and chickens, and monstrous geese from a Fulton Market dealer in fancy poultry. For my father was fond of domestic animals, and they were fond of him. Indeed, he had a regard for every living creature; and would not allow the birds on his fruit-trees to be shot, but only frightened away. I recollect once a farmer asked me in his presence to go with my gun and shoot a hawk, saying that I could do it while she was on her nest. "No," said he at once, "no boy of mine shall shoot a bird on her nest." His farming, I think, never amounted to much. But miles and miles of that same barren land, the Springfield Plain, is now dotted over with farms worth, probably, a hundred dollars an acre.

Between the years 1825 and 1830 came the Temperance Reformation; and no doubt it was time. My father threw himself heart and soul into the movement. The decanters and glasses vanished from our sideboard and closets, never after to reappear. But it was not an unmixed good; for it alienated neighbors and friends.

I think it was as early as 1831 that an attempt was made to navigate the Connecticut River from Hartford for two or three hundred miles up as far as Barnet, in Vermont, in flat-bottomed, stern-wheel steamboats, — the invention of the since distinguished Thomas Blanchard, then a resident of Springfield. My father was associated with others along the route in this enterprise, and a general interest was felt in its success; for railways were yet hardly known. But the scheme proved impracticable. He soon after built, on his own account, one of this kind of boat, named the James Dwight, in honor of a prominent Springfield merchant. This boat ran for a short time to Hartford, until fortunately it was wanted somewhere else.

Other boats of this kind ran regularly after that time between Hartford and Springfield. Charles Dickens travelled in one of them, and in his American Notes speaks of it as "about half-pony power." But small indeed as they might have appeared to the then recently expanded mind of Mr. Dickens, the same plan of construction has proved a most useful one, not only in other parts of the United States, but I have heard of them in South America, and even in Asia. Nor have they yet been superseded on rapid streams and those which are too shallow for the more modern screw-propeller.

My father must have had somewhat more education than was attainable in the district school-house of his day. I have heard him speak of going to the Lancaster grammar-school, and of having had the eminent Rev. Dr. Channing for a teacher, who, while a student, used to come up from Harvard for the winter months. I know that he could read a little in Vergil, and recollect that, soon after I began Latin, he tried me one evening in the conjugations; and when I boggled at the preterite of *do, dare,* he at once said *dedi.* He was a reader of the best books, and, it was said, read aloud remarkably well. One of my earliest memories is the little table before the evening fire, with my father on one side, my mother at the opposite, and myself at the back; he trying with good effect to make her appreciate passages from Shakespeare, in spite of her inherited Calvinistic prejudices. The first books he gave me have influenced my tastes and pursuits to this day. There were plenty of books in the house, — a book-case in the back parlor, a larger one in the office, and even two or three dozen books on some shelves in the kitchen, and few or none of them trash. He was always eager for a chance to converse with cultivated or literary men; and had the highest regard for the accomplished Mr. Peabody, the Unitarian clergyman of Springfield, though he did not belong to his congregation. Of the

Rev. Dr. Thayer, of Lancaster, under whose pastorate he was brought up, he ever spoke with a filial reverence.

I do not recollect that he ever attempted public speaking beyond making a few remarks or a brief statement, though he once delivered a lecture on architecture before the Springfield Lyceum. But he was a born writer. I have seen him cover sheet after sheet with all the ease of a journalist or a professed *littérateur*. In 1836 he made an extended tour through the Southern States, and wrote a series of letters for the Springfield Republican, which attracted the notice of Governor Everett, and led to an acquaintance that continued for years after. The manners of the old-school gentleman were his especial admiration. A few survivors, in small-clothes, were still extant in our cities and large towns within the recollection of many readers of these pages. My father, while yet a very young man, attracted the notice of Mr. John Parkman, one of the merchant princes of Boston three generations ago, and who offered him employment to look after a tract of forest land in Maine. It hardly need be said that he took great interest in genealogical matters; and he often reproved me for my indifference on the same subject. Once, especially, in the presence of Dr. Bond, when I mentioned that in Cambridge, England, I saw a sign, Charles Stearns — not Sternes — over a dry-goods shop, and did not go in and have a talk, he thought that a most culpable lack of curiosity on my part. While he was collecting materials for his "Historical Collections relative to Springfield," a prospectus of which appears in the Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1859, he prepared a memoir of the founder of that town, William Pynchon, which was published, with a portrait, in the same periodical in October of that year. He became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, January 19, 1858.

His personal courage, like that of General Putnam or John Brown, was something phenomenal; and many times he had use for it with unmanageable horses, mad cattle, or quarrelsome men. Long before the days of uniformed police, when the village Dogberry, if he could be found, was the only resource, it was customary, in case of disturbance, to call on any resolute men who were at hand. In this primitive condition of things, Springfield was for a season infested by a bold and adroit gang of burglars, headed by the S——n brothers, whose family lived on what is now Pine Street. One Sunday morning my father was missing from the breakfast table. He had gone out with a party of such men as Colonel Goodman, Simon Sanborn, and Elijah Blake; the thieves were surprised in a deep, overgrown ravine, and early in the afternoon were safe in the county jail, which in due time they left for the state prison. I trust there are such stanch men nowadays in all our towns and villages; but I fail to recognize them. I well remember my father's surprise and utter disgust on being told by a young New Yorker how certain notorious characters were able to control the city, few or none of the better sort thinking it worth their while to attempt to resist them. He could not conceive of such pusillanimity on the part of the substantial and respectable classes; and we, at this day, know what its fruits have been, and are likely to be for years to come.

Another illustration of his personal courage was an encounter with a woman! We were sitting down to the breakfast table one day, when my mother had just come up from the basement kitchen, where she had been "to see how the new washerwoman was getting on;" and she gave an amusing description of her novel mode of laundering. She had the tubs set out on the floor and stood in them barefooted, treading the clothes. As soon as I could get away from the table I hastened to steal a look through the low windows; and there I saw, what I have since learned must have been a pure descendant of the ancient Celtic race. A tall, robust young woman, very dark, with eyes like jet, and a monstrous head of black hair, stood in the tubs, and holding her skirts well up, she presented what is termed "a scene for the painter," or perhaps for the sculptor. This woman lived with her husband, John Burke, an exceptionally quiet little Irishman, in a two-roomed tenement a short way out on the Chicopee road. My father's teams daily passed the house, and her children would come out and climb upon the waggons for a ride. The driver, Simons, had warned their mother of the danger. Late one afternoon, one of them fell off and a wheel passed over its head. The frantic mother rushed forth, not to take up her poor child, but to wreak her fury on Simons; but he ran away, leaving his team standing in the road. Taking up her child, she carried it in, and, laying it upon the bed, threw herself upon it in a frenzy of grief. People soon gathered about the house, but at their approach she would rush out at them like a wild animal. The word soon was: "Send for Mr. Stearns;" and though our house was more than a mile off, this state of things continued till his arrival. As he came near the house, her gigantic form, dabbled in gore and brains, appeared for an instant at the open door, making a hideous spectacle in the strong light of the setting sun. She did not see him, but flew back to the bed, where, as he entered, she lay convulsively hugging her dead child. On his taking hold of her gently to raise her up, she turned upon him furiously, and he had to defend himself for a few moments as best he could. But he soon succeeded in calming the poor woman, so that something could be done for her comfort. Several years after there came a letter from the keeper of a prison in Connecticut, saying that a man named John Burke was under sentence of death for killing his wife; but who said that there was a Mr. Stearns in Springfield who could testify to his peaceful disposition. My father went immediately to Hartford, and made such representations in the man's behalf that his sentence was commuted.

After long experience as a builder, the transition to real-estate speculation would seem at the present day quite natural. Yet for years my father was the only person in the town who ventured to buy houses and lands, without, to all appearance, knowing what he was going to do with them. But he had the skill to improve the property he bought, so as in some way to make it more valuable; and as he sold quickly, at a small advance, the buyers had good reason to be satisfied with their bargains. Hence he should not be classed with the mere speculator, who makes no improvements, and who deranges values by monopolizing property and keeping it from the possession of those who could directly put it to a good use. He opened several new streets, and sold the ground abutting thereon for building lots. Worthington street is the most important, being now in the heart of the city, and extending for three-quarters of a mile from the river to the top of the hill. On this street, a since neglected place called Stearns' Park was deeded to the city for a nominal sum. In the Springfield Republican of May 31, 1875, is an article headed "Our Big Fire," which says: "The value of open spaces was well illustrated by Stearns' Park . . . and lays the city under new obligations to the legator."

With his multifarious schemes my father, of course, had work for great numbers of mechanics and laborers, so that they came to him constantly for employment. Indeed, it seemed hard for him, even in the dullest times, to turn away any one; but he would contrive to give the unemployed something to do. One instance happened quite out of the usual course. A poor devil, originally from South Carolina, of a good family, but who had passed several years in Europe, where he had probably spent his patrimony, for somehow he landed on the outskirts of Springfield with a German wife and one or two children. There he advertised to teach the High German language. When found, he had but one pupil almost as poor as himself, so that he was nearly starving in the midst of plenty. My father put him into part of a vacant house on Elm Street, sent him firewood and a barrel of flour. I took a few lessons from him. He proved a most excellent teacher, soon prospered, and had many pupils from the best families. The Rev. Noah Porter, now President of Yale College, then a young clergyman in Springfield, also took lessons and spoke of him in high terms.

My father, in his prosperous days, often reached forth a helping hand to young men, of which I recall three notable instances. One, a young man of considerable expectations, who wanted better advantages for education than his friends seemed disposed to afford him. The other, a clerk, poor, and with a young family, but who had unexpectedly been remembered by a relative, a deceased Broadway tradesman, in his will, — the avails of which bequest the executors seemed in no hurry to hand over. The third had no means or prospects of any kind except his talents, about which there was no question. He is still in the mid career of prosperity, and his name is familiar from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

From its countless springs and streams of pure, sparkling water, no town was ever more justly named Springfield than that which was the scene of my father's activity. Public aqueducts are now common in our towns and villages; but over fifty years ago my father supplied a few families, besides his own, with water distributed in pipes. About twenty years later he began, solely on his private account, the Springfield Aqueduct. This was afterwards made a stock company, paying good dividends; and it is now, though immensely extended, owned by the city. Indeed, cold water was my father's life-long hobby. He sponged himself with it every morning; drank it at dinner; bought several pure rivulets of it to fill his aqueduct pipes; attempted to navigate it far up the Connecticut; dammed it at Indian Orchard and Pecowsic, where are now prosperous manufactories; once he was carried forcibly over Enfield Rapids in his little stern-wheeler, the James Dwight; and twice he came near being drowned in it in crossing swollen streams, — the first time during his long Southern tour, and afterwards in a stage-coach on the road to New York. So that, in mythological times, it would have been thought that the water nymphs had watched over and rescued their devoted worshipper.

A saw-mill at Pecowsic was for several years one of his many industries. As it stood very near the banks of the Connecticut, and the town of Springfield was now rapidly growing to a city, he was able, by buying timber lands in New Hampshire and floating the logs down to this mill, to make it a most profitable business. But — this little conjunction "but" is often quite equal in force to its grammatical brother "if" — he had now been for some time deep not only in party politics, but in other more local issues, which were a drain upon his time and means. So that enterprises in themselves wise and profitable, and which have since proved still more profitable to others, were to him practical failures.

Quite recently, in reading the great French moralist, La Bruyère, I met with a paragraph that explains much that seems inexplicable in the lives of many men: —

> Tout est étranger dans l'humeur, les mœurs et les manières de la plupart des hommes. Tel a vécu pendant toute sa vie chagrin, emporté, avare, rampant, soumis, laborieux, intéressé, qui était né gai, paisible, paresseux, magnifique, d'un courage fier, et éloigné de toute bassesse: les besoins de la vie, la situation où l'on se trouve, la loi de la nécessité forcent la nature, et y causent ces grands changements. Ainsi *tel homme au fond et en lui-même ne se peut définir*: trop de choses qui sont hors

de lui l'altèrent, le changent et le bouleversent; il n'est point précisément ce qu'il est ou ce qu'il paraît être.

The poet Gray hints at possible undeveloped Cromwells, Miltons, and Hampdens in every country village. Charles Stearns was a very Mirabeau in flying at anything he thought injustice.

"Tricks upon travellers" are often practised by those who feel sure that their victims cannot stop long enough in their journey to make complaint and bring them to justice. It happened — I forget in what year, but it was late in the Thirties, as the newspapers and court records of Cincinnati will show — that he was going down the Ohio on the steamer Huntress, when the passengers were subjected to some not unusual imposition, at which all were indignant; but they had to bear it. On touching at Cincinnati, my father rushed ashore and found a lawyer; the boat was libelled, and had to stay tied to the dock till the abuse was remedied. He heard afterwards that the lesson had a good effect on the whole river craft.

In the year 1842 the superintendency of the United States Armory at Springfield, after being for half a century under civil officers, was suddenly placed under command of officers of the army. This caused much agitation, which made itself felt even in Washington. My father stoutly contended that neither the business, nor especially the workmen, from their character and standing, were proper subjects for military control. This controversy lasted over fifteen years, and was fought with ardor to the last. If, in that time, the Springfield musket was greatly improved, the merit of that improvement cannot be claimed as in favor of military supervision; but it was due rather to that general progress in the mechanic arts, which, in the same period, gave us, for instance, the Corliss steam-engine, Colt's revolver, and the Waltham watch.

Quite aside from the Armory contest, there happened to arise a question of disputed boundary line between Government land and my father's. The United States officers set up a new fence, which he promptly demolished. Then followed years of litigation both in the Massachusetts and the Federal courts. Finally the opposing counsel offered fifteen hundred dollars as a compromise, which was accepted. But afterwards he petitioned Congress for damages, and was awarded and received five thousand dollars.

THOMAS SERGEANT

Thomas Sergeant, the subject of this sketch, was descended from Jonathan Sergeant, who was one of the founders of Branford, Connecticut, and died in 1652; his son Jonathan was one of the founders of Newark, New Jersey, in 1667. Jonathan Sergeant the third, the brother of the Rev. John Sergeant, a missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, was the grandfather of Thomas Sergeant. He married, first, Hannah, the daughter of the Rev. John Nutman, of Hanover, New Jersey, who died in 1743, leaving two daughters,—Hannah, who married the Rev. John Ewing, D.D., and Sarah, who married Jonathan Baldwin, a graduate of the College of New Jersey. In 1745 Jonathan married, second, Abigail, the second child and eldest daughter, born in 1711, of the Rev. Jonathan and Joanna (Melyn) Dickinson, of Elizabeth, New Jersey. This Joanna was the daughter of Jacobeth Melyn and Hannah Hubbard. Jacobeth and one Sarah Tuttle had been prosecuted, in May, 1660, "for setting down on a chestte together, with his arm around her waist, and her arm upon his shoulder or about his neck, and continuing in that sinful posture about half an hour, in which time he kissed her and she kissed him, or they kissed one another, as ye witnesses testifie." The frequent reappearance of the name Jonathan in the above list will be noticed; and if this name as generally reappears in the pages of New England history, it would seem to account for the application of the name "Brother Jonathan" to Americans.

Jonathan Dickinson was an eminent divine, who for nearly forty years was "the joy and glory" of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabeth, New Jersey. He was the principal founder of the College of New Jersey, and was also its first president. His name was given to his grandchild, the first-fruit of Jonathan Sergeant's marriage to his daughter. This son was born, in 1746, at Newark; and having been graduated in 1762 at the College of New Jersey, he studied law in the office of the Hon. Richard Stockton, of Princeton, New Jersey. Shortly after his admittance to the Bar, the disturbances premonitory of the Revolution were beginning; and young Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant took great interest in the progress of events. He was clerk of the convention held at New Brunswick, July 21, 1774, which met to appoint delegates to the Continental Congress. He was a member and the principal secretary of the Provincial Congress held in May, 1775; and in August he was made treasurer, and a member of the Committee of Safety. February 14, 1776, he was elected a representative of the province in the Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. He held this office until the end of May, 1776, when, having been chosen a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, he resigned his seat in the more famous body in order to do what he could for the service of his native colony. It was thus, as Dr. Hatfield, to whom I am indebted for many of the facts here stated, points out, only the unselfish character of Mr. Sergeant's patriotism that prevented his name from appearing among those of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

On November 30, 1776, he was chosen one of the representatives of New Jersey in the Continental Congress. In the following year he changed his place of residence to Pennsylvania, and in July, 1777, he was appointed the Attorney-General of that colony. This honorable post he resigned in November, 1780. After the war was over he declined to accept any position; but while interesting himself in public affairs he devoted himself to the practice of his profession. In the summer of 1793, when Philadelphia was visited by the yellow fever, he became a member of the Committee of Health; and died of the epidemic, on the eighth of October, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He married twice,—first, March 14, 1775, Margaret, the sixth child of the Rev. Elihu Spencer, D.D., and Joanna, daughter of John and Joanna Eatton, of Shrewsbury, New Jersey. She was born January 5, 1759, and died June 17, 1787. By her he had issue:—

1. William, born January 1, 1776, member of the Philadelphia bar; married, September 3, 1801, Elizabeth Morgan, by whom he had one daughter, Mary Valeria, who married George W. Blight, and had issue. He died March 7, 1807.

2. Sarah, born January 1, 1778; married, October, 1801, to the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., later Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton; eleven children.

3. John, born December 5, 1779; a graduate in 1795 of the College of New Jersey; an eminent lawyer and statesman; candidate for Vice-President with Henry Clay for President; married, June 23, 1813, Margaretta Watmough; died, November 25, 1852, at Philadelphia; ten children.

4 & 5. Thomas and Henry, twins, born January 14, 1782. Henry died March 24, 1824, *sine prole.*

6. Elizabeth, born January 3, 1784; died December 31, 1845, *sine prole.*

7. Jonathan, born January 4, 1786; died July 4, 1786.

8. Elihu Spencer, born May 29, 1787; a graduate in 1804 of the College of New Jersey; member of the Philadelphia Bar; married, July 1, 1819, Elizabeth Fox Norris; died August 4, 1824; three children.

Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant married second, December 20, 1788, Elizabeth Rittenhouse, daughter of David Rittenhouse. By her he had issue: —

1. Esther, born October 16, 1789; died June 4, 1870; married, 1814, William P. C. Barton, M.D., a graduate of the College of New Jersey in 1805, and organizer and first chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, United States Navy; Professor of Botany, University of Pennsylvania; and Professor of Materia Medica and Botany, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia; fourteen children.
2. David Rittenhouse, born July 1, 1791; died August 8, 1872, *sine prole.*
3. Frances, born November 17, 1793, and married to John C. Lowber, member of the Philadelphia bar, November 10, 1819; died November 3, 1847; five children.

Thomas Sergeant, as is stated above, was born in Philadelphia, January 14, 1782. He was graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1798, in the same class with his twin-brother, attaining the second place in the class, the first being taken by the late Chief-Justice Ewing of New Jersey. After leaving college he began the study of law, entering the office of Jared Ingersoll, the father of the Hon. C. J. and Joseph R. Ingersoll, at that time one of the most eminent lawyers in Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar June 8, 1802, and very shortly afterwards he was appointed by Governor McKean to succeed his brother William in the office of Clerk of the Mayor's Court, — a jurisdiction since superseded by the Quarter Sessions.

He moreover took considerable interest in political affairs, and sat as one of the delegation from Philadelphia in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives during the sessions of 1812–1813 and 1813–1814. In 1814 Mr. Sergeant was appointed Associate-Justice of the District Court of Philadelphia; and this place he filled until the year 1817, when he was invited by Governor Findlay to become

Secretary of the Commonwealth; he at once accepted the position, and discharged its duties until his resignation in July, 1819. It was while holding this office that, after securing the necessary legislation, he began the formation of the State Law Library at Harrisburg, bringing to this task great information and sound judgment. Under his care the nucleus was formed of what has become the finest law library in Pennsylvania. On the very day of his resignation of the secretaryship he was appointed Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, in place of Amos Ellmaker, Esq., his place as secretary being filled by the Hon. Samuel D. Ingham, subsequently Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

On the election of Governor Hiester, Thomas Elder, Esq., was appointed Attorney-General, and Mr. Sergeant retired temporarily into private life, devoting himself to the constantly increasing practice of his profession. On the fifteenth of April, 1828, in the presidency of John Quincy Adams, he was appointed Postmaster of Philadelphia; and so remained until 1832. February 3, 1834, Mr. Sergeant was appointed Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and he continued on the Bench till his resignation in 1846. . His judicial decisions have been highly esteemed by competent authorities for their brevity, clearness, and accuracy. Indeed it was said not many years ago by one of his successors on the Bench that he was the only judge who ever sat in the State, no one of whose decisions had ever been reversed. During his judicial career he was the chief expounder of the limited equity jurisdiction of the court; and he was of great service in bringing this into a convenient and intelligible shape.

After his resignation, at the time when he felt aggrieved at the change in the Constitution of the State, by which judges were elected by the people instead of being appointed by the governor, he returned to what was a very large and successful practice at the Bar. About 1850, however, his failing health compelled his gradual abandonment of trying professional labor. To the end of his life he was a constant reader. It was, indeed, said that he had read every book in the Philadelphia Library. But he was not a mere devourer of books. His literary judgments were always sound. In his earlier years he had written literary as well as political articles in various periodicals, and he never forgot the classics, while eagerly reading every new book. He was distinctly a man of wide tastes. His pen was for many years busy on professional matters. He published: —

1. Treatise upon the Law of Pennsylvania relative to the Proceedings by Foreign Attachment. 8vo, Philadelphia, 1811; 2d edition, 1840.
2. Constitutional Law (8vo, 1822; 2d edition, 1830), which was praised by the eminent Peter S. Duponceau, and in the North American Review, Vol. XXII. p. 450.
3. View of the Land Laws of Pennsylvania, etc. 8vo, 1838. Judge Sergeant was also one of the editors, with J. C. Lowber, T. M. Pettit, and George Sharswood, of English Common Law Reports, 1822, etc.; and, with J. C. Lowber, J. Purdon, and T. I. Wharton, of The Law Library, 1833, etc.
4. Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1814–1828, 1818–1829. 17 vols. 8vo. This he did in conjunction with William Rawle, Jr.
5. Sketch of the National Judiciary Powers exercised in the United States prior to the adoption of the present Federal Constitution, added to Mr. Duponceau's Dissertation on the Nature and Extent of the Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States. 8vo, Philadelphia, 1824.

All these books are still regarded as high authority.

Judge Sergeant was Provost of the Law Academy of Philadelphia from 1844 to 1855, succeeding the venerable P. S. Duponceau, and himself followed by the Hon. George Sharswood, the lately deceased Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

He was for a long time President of the Pennsylvania

Historical Society, in the rooms of which is hanging an excellent portrait of him. He became an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 15, 1850. He was also a member of the American Philosophical Society, and for many years one of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, besides being more or less closely connected with other public institutions.

He married, September 14, 1812, Sarah Bache, granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, by whom he had three sons who died without issue, and one daughter, who in 1838 married the late Christopher Grant Perry, eldest child of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. She has four children.

Judge Sergeant died May 8, 1860, leaving behind him an honorable fame as a lawyer, a politician, and a private citizen. He was an indefatigable worker; but his assiduous toil never made him indifferent to the charms of society. His cordiality, his uniform good temper, and his gayety endeared him to his friends; and his wide experience, his profound knowledge, and his rare acquirements made his conversation as agreeable as it was instructive. In person he was tall, being a little over six feet high, spare, and of a large frame. His dignified manners were tempered by a very amiable expression of countenance, and he was always a great favorite with the young, besides being loved by his friends. In his family relations he was invariably kind and gentle.

RALPH SANGER

The first person of the name who is recorded to have come to this country is Richard Sanger, who is said to have emigrated from Hingham, in Norfolk, England; and who settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, where he had lands assigned him in 1636 and 1637, and where he died in 1661. His son, Richard, settled as a blacksmith in Sudbury in 1646; removed to Watertown in 1649, and died in that town in 1691. It is said that to him and his two adult sons, with three other persons, was intrusted, during "King Philip's War," the charge of guarding the mill at Watertown. His son Richard went to the neighboring town of Sherborn, in 1687, at the age of twenty-one years, and was a blacksmith there. He had lands assigned him in 1689, and at different times afterward, and was a useful and respectable inhabitant of the town. His seventh child was Richard, born in 1706, for a time a blacksmith, and afterwards a storekeeper in Sherborn and then in Boston. He acquired considerable property; was for ten years one of the selectmen of the town; and was active and efficient, for his years, in the war of the Revolution. In 1776 he was the first man placed on the Committee of Safety with President Locke. He died in 1786. His fifth son and seventh child was Zedekiah Sanger, the father of the subject of this memoir. He was born in Sherborn in 1748, was graduated at Harvard College in 1771, studied divinity, and was ordained pastor of the Church in Duxbury, Massachusetts, July 3, 1776, where his ministry continued until April, 1786. The text of his first sermon was from Leviticus xxv. 10: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." In 1788 he removed to South Bridgewater, where he was settled, at first as colleague of the Rev. John Shaw, and after the decease of Mr. Shaw was pastor of the parish until his death, November 17, 1820. He married in Duxbury, Irene Freeman of that town, a woman of rare personal and social qualities, of great intelligence, wisdom, and refinement, and of sincere and pervading, but unostentatious piety. They had fifteen children; twelve of whom — seven sons and five daughters — reached mature age, and ten of whom became heads of families. The last survivor of that generation, Samuel F., who for many years lived upon the old homestead, died in Bridgewater, on the thirteenth of May, 1880, aged ninety-two years.

Dr. Zedekiah Sanger was above the average of the scholars of those days; excelled in mathematics, and was of good repute as a classical scholar. He was an able and successful teacher. After settling in Bridgewater he received pupils at his house, and established there a private classical school, which was for many years widely and favorably known. Many distinguished men of the earlier part of this century were, when young, under his care; some being fitted for college by him, and others being sent to him during suspension from college; and that portion of their lives spent under his care and instruction and in his household, was ever affectionately and gratefully remembered. Many young men pursued their theological studies, and were fitted for the ministry, under his direction. "He was highly esteemed for his ability and learning, was reverenced as a minister, and sought for as a counsellor." Few men in that section of the State were more widely known, more highly respected, or more beloved than he.

Besides the subject of this memoir, two of his sons were college graduates. His eldest son, Richard, was graduated at Cambridge in 1800, and was tutor in Greek from 1803 to 1805. His third son, Zedekiah, was graduated at Brown University in 1804. They were both for a time teachers in the Academy at Bridgewater, but afterwards removed to western New York, and engaged in mercantile pursuits.

He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Brown University in 1807; and he was one of the original members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Massachusetts. His widow survived him. She lived most of the time after his death with her daughters, in Burlington, Vermont; and died at the old homestead, at the house of her son Samuel, in 1833.

The sixth child and fourth son of Zedekiah was Ralph, the subject of this memoir. He was born June 22, 1786, in Duxbury. When two years old his father removed to Bridgewater. Here he passed his childhood and boyhood, and fitted for college under the instructions of his father, and of his elder brothers, Richard and Zedekiah. He entered Harvard College in 1804, and was graduated in 1808, with the first honors in his class. He taught school for a year after his graduation, in Concord, Massachusetts; and afterwards pursued his theological studies at Cambridge, where there was as yet no Divinity School, under the general direction of his father. He was tutor in mathematics in the College, for the year 1811–1812. He was ordained pastor of the church and parish in Dover, Massachusetts, September 16, 1812, succeeding the Rev. Benjamin Caryl, a graduate of Harvard College in 1761, and who died in 1811, after a pastorate of more than forty years.

Dover was formerly a part of Dedham, the shire town of Norfolk County. It was set off from Dedham and incorporated as a district in 1784, and was made a town in 1836. It is situated off from the main lines of travel to and from Boston. Its population was small, about five hundred in number, and remained nearly stationary; and was composed chiefly of farmers who were well-to-do, but not of large means. There were no regular public means of communication with Boston, or with any of the larger towns. From time to time efforts were made to establish a stage-line from Woonsocket on the Rhode Island boundary, and the manufacturing towns in that vicinity on the Blackstone River, to Boston, running through Dover; but they would die out in a few months. The chief interest of the town was agriculture; and the farmers, in intelligence and knowledge, and in capacity and skill in their calling, compared favorably with the farmers in the other towns of the county and State. The town had no lawyer; and after the death of Dr. George Caryl, in 1829, — the son of the former minister, and a graduate at Cambridge in 1788, — there was no physician within its limits. For the first thirty years of his ministry, the meeting-house in which Dr. Ralph Sanger preached was the only one in the town.

With this people, and in this comparative seclusion, Dr. Sanger lived for more than forty years, loving and beloved, — their pastor, teacher, counsellor, companion, and friend. The wish and motive of his life were to be good and to do good. He was eminently a peace-maker, and earnestly endeavored, if there were disputes, to terminate them, or if dissensions to heal them.

In 1817 he married Charlotte Kingman, daughter of Ezra Kingman of East Bridgewater. Of great loveliness as well as strength of character, quiet and patient, but of persistent and enduring energy, discreet, intelligent, well-educated, personally attractive and attracting, unassuming, of unquestioning faith and the purest piety, she was an ideal country minister's wife. With the fullest faith in God and the promises of his Word, they performed their daily duties as in His sight.

Six children were born to them: Ralph, born March 31, 1818, who died in New Orleans, March 31, 1851; George Partridge, born November 27, 1819, and resides, a lawyer, in Massachusetts; Charlotte Kingman, born August 17, 1822, who married William Whitworth Gannett of Cambridge, and died in August, 1872; John White, born March 15, 1824, a mariner, who died master of a vessel in Shanghai, in 1866; Simon Greenleaf, born March 9, 1827, and resides, a teacher, in Chicago, Illinois; Irene Freeman, born August 15, 1830, and is still living. The second and fourth sons were graduated at Cambridge; the former in 1840, and the latter in 1848.

During the earlier years of his ministry, both before and after his marriage, Dr. Sanger had private pupils from out of town, under his instruction and at his house; some fitting for college, and others who had been rusticated from Cambridge, continuing their studies with him during their suspension. Some young men of Dover, and of the neighboring towns, were prepared for college under his teaching.

In the earnest and faithful discharge of his duties, as minister of the church and parish, he did not confine himself to instruction in sacred things alone, nor to the performance solely of the ordinary duty of a pastor. He endeavored in every way to instruct, help, and improve his people. He interested himself in the common schools, and for more than forty years was at the head of the school committee. By endeavoring to obtain competent teachers, and conducting their examination; in selecting the best school books, and by visits to and examinations of the schools, he sought to awaken a lively interest in both parents and children, and to make the schools of the highest service to them.

At an early period of his residence in Dover, he was the means of establishing a town library, which was kept up during his ministry. He was the librarian, and with sound judgment selected the books, which were carefully read and pondered. This small library, thus begun and continued, produced, as the years went on, marked effects. When the day of lyceums came, he joined in establishing one in the town, where lectures were given and questions of popular interest discussed. He was for many years one of the Board of Trustees of the Academy at Framingham, Massachusetts, and faithfully attended to his duties there.

He participated actively in the temperance movement, and by precept and example aided materially, in the town and county, this salutary reform.

He took a deep interest in the cause of agriculture, and was an active member of the Norfolk Agricultural Society; for several years he was chairman of the committee on farms, and a leading member of the visiting committee. He was, also, for many years one of the vice-presidents of the society. From the beginning, he favored the State Agricultural College, and did what he could, in his way, to aid in its establishment.

When, soon after 1830, railroads began to be commonly constructed in Massachusetts, he joined with others in the effort to procure the construction of the "Air Line" route, as it was called, between Boston and New York, which was surveyed to run through Dover. To aid in some degree to obtain a charter for this road, he was elected a representative to the legislature of Massachusetts, from Dover in 1837, and afterwards in 1845, 1847, 1851, and 1854, — those being the years in which by the apportionment the town was entitled to a representative. While a member of the House, he served upon the committees on Education, Public Charitable Institutions, and Prisons. He rarely participated in the debates; but by his constant attendance upon and devotion to the business of the House, by his genial and cordial manners, his absolute integrity, his sound common-sense, and by ready, pleasant, and instructive conversation, he endeared himself to, and was universally respected and beloved by, his fellow-members. In 1838 he was elected chaplain of the Senate, and served during the session.

Although living in this small and quiet town, his interests and activities were by no means confined within its limits. Social in his nature, and from his youth accustomed to the society of the cultured and refined, with a mind richly stored with the fruits of reading and study, with a natural and kindly wit and humor, and an abundance of interesting conversation, his companionship was sought and welcomed. Besides the usual association of the ministers of his faith, which met quarterly, and had in the earlier days of his ministry public religious exercises, the clergymen of the towns immediately adjoining Dover formed what they called the "sub-association," and with their families met monthly at each other's houses in turn, on the Tuesday afternoon and evening nearest the full moon. Nothing could well exceed the improving and delightful character of these meetings; and indirectly they were of great benefit to the parishes.

Dr. Sanger was frequently a member of ministerial councils. In public gatherings in the county his presence was welcomed. He constantly attended the anniversaries in Boston, and gathered from the brethren new inspiration and courage and strength for the year that was to come. He was loyal to Harvard College; and was present at every Commencement after his graduation, with one exception, when an imperative parochial duty kept him away. The college gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1857. On the ninth of September, 1859, he was admitted a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

The end of his earthly pilgrimage was now drawing near. In the summer of 1857 his house at Dover was burned, and was not rebuilt. In the autumn of that year, Dr. Sanger and his wife and younger daughter removed to Cambridge, and resided with his son-in-law, Mr. Gannett. In the congenial society of that city, where were then some of the tried and valued friends of his earlier days, and still interested in some of the projects of his country life, not yet completed, he was enjoying the serene but not inactive quiet of declining years, his family and kindred about him, — when in April, 1860, while apparently in his usual health, he was stricken with paralysis; and after lingering, without special suffering, for three weeks, he quietly breathed his last in the early morning of Sunday, the sixth of May. His widow survived him for twenty-one years, and died at the house of her son, in Cambridge, December 1, 1881, in the ninetieth year of her age. The mortal remains of the husband and wife repose in Mount Auburn.

The death of Dr. Sanger called forth warm tributes of respect to his memory in the secular as well as the religious papers; and he was kindly and reverently mentioned by the associations with which he had been connected. The Rev. Dr. Miles, the secretary of the American Unitarian Association, at the festival of that denomination in Boston, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1860, said: —

> Perhaps this twentieth festival is the first one from which the Rev. Dr. Ralph Sanger has been absent. It seems as if we must meet him now, with his pleasant smile, and hearty greeting, and ready anecdote. Descended from a ministerial family, and heartily loving the ministerial profession, perhaps he was the best representative among us of the old-fashioned New England minister. Modern improvements may yield more learning and more eloquence; but fraternity, companionship, require other things besides learning and eloquence; and who of us, as his image now passes before our minds, does not wish we had more like him, in his urbanity and kindliness, and demonstrativeness of interest and affection, welling up from a warm and loving heart.

The Dedham Gazette of May 12, 1860, contained the following contribution from one of Dr. Sanger's brethren in the ministry in Norfolk County, between whom and him there had been the unbroken friendship of a long lifetime, the growth of mutual love and respect: —

Few names are more familiar to most of our readers than that of this excellent man. Few persons have held so high a place in the confidence and esteem of the whole community as was universally accorded to him. His life had been one of unpretending, faithful devotedness to the best interests of humanity; in the cause of religion, of education, of moral elevation and progress, and of social order and happiness. As a Christian minister, his wisdom, prudence, fidelity, and usefulness have won for him a name that will be sacredly cherished in the Church, and in many homes where his influence was felt and his labors were known. As an educator of the young, the fruits of his instruction and counsels are to be found in the highest as in the humbler walks of life. In the hall of legislation no one was more universally relied upon for calm deliberation, and for judicious, free, manly action; no one was more attentive to the interests of his constituents and the Commonwealth. For the promotion of agriculture, of temperance, and of social elevation and improvement in every way, his labors have been modestly, yet earnestly employed; and will be everywhere recognized and remembered in this vicinity. He was a man of scholarly and liberal attainments; of frank, genial, and cheerful temperament; distinguished for his sterling virtue and his modest worth. Firm in adherence to his convictions, he could never yield a principle to gain popular applause; never withhold a truth to escape unmerited rebuke; and never abandon right, though its friends might be fewer than its foes. He won respect by prudence and uprightness; and never forfeited esteem by hasty zeal, or by timid forbearance. He was transparently honest, and men confided in him. He was actively benevolent, and many shared his bounty, who never knew its source; and many felt his kindness, whose hearts will swell with emotion at the mention of his name.

The intelligence of his decease brings sorrow into many homes, where his presence had always brought joy, and touches many hearts closely, as would the heaviest personal affliction. They who mourn his departure, have sweet consolation in the memory of his life, and the assurance of his rest. They have seen him enjoying, in the good providence of God, a large measure of social esteem and social happiness. They have seen him spreading the blessings of virtue, intelligence, and happiness wherever he lived and wherever he walked. They have seen his faithful labors and the abundant fruits of them. They have long shared his presence in their joys and their sorrows. They have witnessed the gentle decay of his powers, and ministered, by soothing attentions and kindnesses, to the comfort of his dying hours. They have seen and felt his strong faith, his cheerful trust, his tranquil resignation to the will of God. They know that He, whom he served with such fidelity on earth, has welcomed him to his appropriate reward in Heaven. They sorrow not as those who have no hope. They rejoice, though in tears, that he is gone to the Father, and found rest. With the dawning of the Lord's day, he ascended to the presence, and joined the celestial worship of his Saviour and his God.

ANSEL PHELPS, JUNIOR

Ansel Phelps, Jr., was the eldest son of Ansel and Hannah (Ames) Phelps of Greenfield, Massachusetts, where he was born, October 17, 1815. His mother was a daughter of Mr. Ambrose Ames of Greenfield, formerly of Bridgewater.

He was educated, for the most part, at private schools and academies, but chiefly at the Fellenberg Academy, the first manual-labor school incorporated in New England, where he was under the direct care and instruction of Mr. James Henry Coffin, a graduate of Amherst College, in 1828, and afterwards, from 1846 to his death, in 1873, the distinguished professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, in Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania.

At the close of his course in the Academy, young Phelps was qualified to enter college a year in advance. The offer of a collegiate education was made to him by his father, but declined. The youth preferred to enter as soon as possible into active business. In after life he regretted this choice.

For several years before reaching his majority, he assisted his father in editing the Greenfield Gazette. In the fall of the year 1836, he left Greenfield for Philadelphia, where he was engaged for a short time as an assistant editor on one of the leading daily papers of that city. From Philadelphia he returned to assist his father in editing his paper and in conducting his book-publishing business. In 1837 he entered, as a student, the law-office of the Hon. Daniel Wells of Greenfield, afterwards chief-justice of the Court of Common Pleas. While so engaged, Mr. Phelps had the chief editorial charge of the Gazette. He further pursued his studies at the Harvard Law School, and in 1839 established himself and opened his office at Ware, Massachusetts.

He was speedily appreciated by the community, and acquired a successful and extensive practice.

Mr. Phelps was postmaster of the village for several years, and in 1845 was elected to the lower branch of the State legislature. He at once assumed an honorable position, and exercised an influence in every way creditable to his abilities. In the spring of 1846 he was appointed attorney to the Western Railroad, and thereupon removed his residence to Springfield. In December, 1856, he was chosen Mayor of that city; and after two re-elections to that office, he voluntarily retired at the close of the year 1858.

Mr. Phelps was married September 1, 1841, to Lydia Paige of Hardwick, Massachusetts. His death occurred at his residence in Springfield on the second day of June, 1860. His wife and three children survived him.

He was a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, dating from March 30, 1855.

In early life Mr. Phelps manifested many of the traits of character which subsequently made him distinguished. As a youth he was tractable and docile under just restraints, yet he was firm and resolute when the occasion called for firmness. At the same time, he displayed unusual activity, both mental and physical, and with the healthful exercise of all his powers, was able to accomplish results that would be creditable to much older persons. The first marked indication of a public nature, showing the scope and power of his mind, was exhibited when he was but fourteen or fifteen years of age. Together with Professor and Mrs. Coffin, and some eight or ten of his fellow-students, he made a pedestrian tour to the White Mountains and Quebec. He prepared an account of this journey, in a series of letters which were published in the Gazette. These letters were so excellent in form and matter as to attract a wide notice, and win for the writer much commendation. His description of a storm on Mount Washington, in which the party came near perishing, was particularly graphic and impressive.

Mr. Phelps was a man of genial nature and most generous impulses; honorable and highminded in every relation of life; and characterized by untiring energy and fidelity in the discharge of every professional and public duty. At a special meeting of the City Council of Springfield the following resolutions were adopted: —

Resolved, That the City Council extend to the family of Ansel Phelps, Jr., whose decease has this day been officially announced to them, their sentiments of sympathy and sincere condolence.

Resolved, That the City Clerk be directed to place upon the records of the Mayor and Board of Aldermen the date of Mr. Phelps' death; his age and occupation; the years in which he held the office of Mayor of this city; and this expression of our judgment, and the judgment of his cotemporaries in life, that he was an upright man, a good citizen, a popular and efficient public officer, an intelligent and warm-hearted gentleman, and an active and unostentatious philanthropist among the poor and friendless of our city.

ELISHA THAYER

Elisha Thayer was born September 15, 1785, in Braintree, County of Norfolk, Massachusetts, and was the second child of Samuel White Thayer and his wife Esther French, of that town. He was sixth in descent from Thomas Thayer, who came to New England at an early period of its settlement, with his wife Margery and three sons, Thomas, Ferdinando, and Shadrach; and who was admitted freeman in 1647.

The line of descent was through Thomas, Shadrach, Ephraim, Shadrach, Uriah, Samuel White, and Elisha. His father was a stone-cutter by trade, and Elisha lived and worked with him in Braintree. It is said that he hammered the steps of the court-house in the town where he afterwards practised as physician.

When Elisha was eighteen years of age, his father sold his house in Braintree and moved to Wrentham, where he had bought a farm. There his son worked at farming until he was twenty-one years old, and then went to Randolph, and began to study Latin and the higher branches with the Rev. Dr. Strong, in order to fit himself for teaching. During the time of study he had to gain his own livelihood; and teaching, working and studying took up the next five or six years. Four years of this time he spent in studying his profession with Dr. Jonathan Wales of Randolph, with whose family he resided, and to whom in after years he expressed his obligations very warmly, for the assistance and encouragement thus received. The choice of his profession was not made without a considerable natural bent toward medicine, and many of his name have shown the same taste.

In the spring of 1812 he went to Vermont and began the practice of his profession in the town of Bethel. He was married July 8, 1813, to Nancy Billings of Canton, Massachusetts, the marriage itself taking place in Bethel. There he practised his profession; but the mountain air so seriously affected his health, that in 1815 he returned and settled in what was then South Dedham, and afterwards removed to Dedham. Here he took the practice of Dr. Nathaniel Ames, and lived by his profession until the year 1833, when he was appointed postmaster of Dedham by President Jackson. In this office he remained until April 1, 1856. The last four years of his life were spent in Braintree, where he died, June 9, 1860.

These are the main facts of his life. It now remains for us to see what manner of man he was. Born in a condition of life that compelled him to work at stone-cutting and farming until he was twenty-one, he showed the character of his mind, by his determination to gain at any cost the knowledge which he wanted. Too poor to go to college, he studied for four years, at the same time paying his expenses by teaching, stone-cutting, and farming. By the kind help of his instructor, he was at length successful; and armed with a certificate from Dr. Wales, he went to Vermont to practise. There his health was impaired; and he returned and settled near the sea-coast, where he practised until the sure income from a salaried office drew him away from his labors as a country doctor. In that office he had a chance to pursue his favorite studies; and it was characteristic of the man that, instead of settling down to the dull routine of his duties as postmaster during his term of office, he studied Latin so well that he could read that language quite easily.

He acquired also a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, sufficient, as he said, to enable him "to read the Bible in the languages in which it was written."

He was an earnest student of the Bible and could readily quote from any part of it. He was a lover of poetry, and often wrote for his own pleasure. He also had a taste for music, and during his period of study organized and taught several singing-schools. It may be worthy of note that he was the first bandmaster in the County of Norfolk, having collected and taught a band while in Randolph.

In politics his opinions never varied. He was always an open and avowed Democrat. Yet, so great was the confidence of the people in the honesty and impartiality with which he administered the affairs of his office, that neither the repeated applications of his political opponents, nor the strong appeals of his rivals in his own party, could induce any of the successive administrations to remove him from the office. But his failing health at length compelled him to resign.

For some years after he moved to Dedham he attended the Congregational Church; but he became attached to the Episcopal Church, and afterwards worshipped in that communion until he removed to Braintree. For a long time he was a warden of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Dedham.

Dr. Thayer was a devoted Freemason, holding many official positions in the lodge at Dedham; and during the anti-Masonic agitation was one of the few who had the courage of their convictions, and regularly attended the meetings of their lodge. To further testify to his faith, he also placed on his front door at this time a brass knocker in the shape of a Masonic emblem, which still remains there.

But Dr. Thayer's chief study, and the one to which he devoted the greatest care and attention, was that of genealogy. He collected a great mass of materials, some of which he used in the preparation of the Thayer Family Memorial, which he published in 1835. In an unpublished preface to this book he says, that, if the work met with favor he would publish a second volume, showing that neither the will nor the material was wanting. As far as can be ascertained this Memorial was his only published work.

He possessed a very retentive memory, and was often consulted by those desirous of knowing about their ancestors, and he could generally give them the requisite information. Among these was John Quincy Adams, whom he visited, and with whom he corresponded. He was very much interested in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and became one of its corresponding members, April 17, 1845.

In person he was rather below than above the average size, with a pleasant, frank face. He was genial with his family and courteous to every one. His historical studies were those in which he took most delight, and are those which are most likely to perpetuate his name.

JONATHAN PHILLIPS

Jonathan Phillips was a descendant in the seventh generation, of the Rev. George Phillips, of Watertown, who came to Massachusetts in 1630 with Winthrop and his company. The other ancestors in the direct line were the Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Rowley; Samuel Phillips, goldsmith, of Salem; the Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Andover; the Hon. William Phillips, senator, of Boston; and the Hon. William Phillips, lieutenant-governor, of Boston.

The second William Phillips married Miriam, third daughter of the Hon. Jonathan Mason, United States Senator from Massachusetts at the beginning of the present century, and had seven children, the third of whom is the subject of the present memoir. Three other children lived to mature age: Miriam, who married Samuel Hall Walley; Edward; and Abigail Bromfield, who married the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess.

Jonathan Phillips was born in Boston, April 24, 1778, and two days later was baptized in the Brattle Street Meeting-house by the Rev. Dr. Cooper. His family belonged to the Old South; but that congregation had been scattered since the occupation of its meeting-house by the British troops, and was without a minister from 1775 to 1779. He entered Phillips Academy, Andover, May, 1787, and remained there until the summer of 1794, when he was admitted to Harvard College. Of his fellow-students at Andover, Jonathan French, Henry Gardner, Stephen Longfellow, and Joseph Tuckerman, entered college at the same time. Other members of this distinguished class, the class of 1798, were William Ellery Channing, Josiah Salisbury, Joseph Story, and Sidney Willard. At the end of the junior year Mr. Phillips was obliged to discontinue his collegiate studies; he had never been very strong, and his health now gave way. We get some glimpses of him as a young man from the private diary of Samuel Hall Walley: —

1799, Aug. 6. Walked in the mall before breakfast. In the evening, walked in the old mall, where I met my friend Jonathan P., with his amiable sister M., whom I joined at the latter part of their walk.

Dec. 4. Attended the Federal Street Theatre (for the first time this season). Sat in box No. 6, with my friend J. P. The play was Shakespeare's first part of King Henry IV.

1800, Feb. 21. Rode with my friend J. P. (in our chaise), to Cambridge. Heard Mr. Allston and Mr. Watson pronounce a poem and an oration upon the character of George Washington.

May 11. Attended this evening the Federal caucus at Concert Hall, with my friends C. S., Jr., and J. P. The caucus was for the purpose of fixing on representatives to the General Court. H. G. Otis addressed the audience in a noble speech of an hour's length.

July 4. At seven A. M. set off with my friend J. P., in a chaise for Nahant, which we reached (after waiting and breakfasting at Lynn about an hour) at half-past ten A. M. The company consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, brother and sister P. [Mr. and Mrs. John Phillips], Mr. and Mrs. Quincy, Mr. J. White, and Miss Sally Wendell, Mr. J. P., and myself. . . . Reached town about quarter past nine P. M., without the smallest accident having befallen any of the company.

July 16. Commencement at Cambridge. I stayed in town all day, as did my friends Jonathan Phillips and C. Sigourney, Jr. Walked with them in the afternoon for an hour and a half. At six P. M. I went to William Phillips, Esq.'s house, and had the pleasure of drinking tea with Miss Miriam Phillips, Miss S.

Mason, and my friend Jonathan Phillips. Miss Mason belongs to Newport, R. I. . . . Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, who attended the exercises at Cambridge, and who tarries at Mr. Phillips's, came in about three quarters past seven P. M.; to him I was introduced by my friend J. P., his father being absent from the room on the Governor's entering.

July 18. Walked in the mall this evening about half-past seven P. M., where I met my friend, J. P., with his amiable sister Miriam and Miss Trumbull, daughter of Governor Trumbull of Connecticut. I walked in the mall with them for fifteen or twenty minutes, and afterwards accompanied them as far as Mr. Foster's, No. 8 Franklin Place, whither they were going to visit.

These references to the mall recall what John Dunton wrote in one of his letters from New England, in the summer of 1686: —

> On the south, there is a small but pleasant common, where the gallants a little before sunset walk with their marmalet madams, as we do in Moorfield, &c., till the nine-a-clock bell rings them home.

After the lapse of two centuries this old custom still survives, but since 1878 the bells have not rung at nine o'clock to send honest people home. But to return to Mr. Walley's diary: —

Aug. 12. My friend Jonathan Phillips and his amiable sister set off on a journey this morning for Northampton and Lebanon in Connecticut.

1801, April 13. My friends John Harris, J. Phillips, and Joseph Tilden, with brother [John] Phillips, dined with me this day, in celebration of my birthday.

The "amiable" friend so often mentioned in this diary became in due time Mrs. Walley. The marriage took place January 4, 1803. We have a full list of the friends who were present at the ceremony, and as the names of Jonathan and Edward Phillips are not mentioned among them, we infer that the brothers were then travelling abroad, as we know that at about this period they went to Europe together.

Jonathan Phillips, when the state of his health obliged him to abandon regular study, turned his thoughts towards business, or rather, they were turned in that direction by his father, for had he been left to himself he would have made a different choice. In the Boston Directory of 1803 he is described as an importer of hardware at No 1 Ann Street. He was joined soon after by his brother; and removing to No. 2 Phillips Building, on the corner of Kilby and Water Streets, they continued there for more than twenty years. During a part of this time they were "importers of hardware and piece goods," for it was not unusual then for these two branches of trade to be carried on by one and the same firm.

On the thirtieth of September, 1805, Mr. Phillips married Rebecca, daughter of Samuel Salisbury, a Boston merchant of high respectability. She was born August 16, 1776. Edward Phillips married her sister Mary, in 1807, and her other sisters were married to Stephen Higginson, John Leverett, John Tappan, and Aaron Porter Cleveland.

Mr. Phillips, after his marriage, lived at first at No. 17 Franklin Place, and in 1807, and for many years later, at No. 5 Hamilton Place, in a row of houses belonging to his father, which then had an unobstructed view to Winter Street. In 1818, his income having been considerably increased by the death of his wife's father, he moved to a house in Beacon Street, built by his great-grandfather, the second Edward Bromfield, in 1722. This house is said to have been the first erected in Beacon Street, and is described as "the most remarkable both from its size and commanding site," of the residences in that part of the town. It stood on a hill which was levelled in 1845, and the site is marked by Freeman Place Chapel and the adjoining houses in Beacon Street. In one of its chambers the third Edward Bromfield, whose early death destroyed so many hopes, carried on his scientific experiments. In 1764 the first William Phillips bought it of his father-in-law; under its roof, in 1769, he gave his daughter Abigail in marriage to Josiah Quincy, Jr., the patriot of the Revolution; in 1804 he died there; and now, in 1818, it came into the possession of his grandson Jonathan, who lived there until 1827.

Mr. Edward Phillips died November 4, 1826; and the surviving brother, whose inclinations, as we have said, were not in the direction of business, and who had added little or nothing to his property by his attention to it for twenty years, determined to give it up as soon as possible. William Tappan Eustis purchased the stock and goodwill in the spring of 1827, and Mr. Jonathan Phillips occupied a desk in the old premises for a short time, afterwards taking an office in State Street. From 1828 to 1833 he was a director in the Massachusetts Bank, of which his two grandfathers, William Phillips and Jonathan Mason, with Isaac Smith, John Lowell, and Thomas Russell, had been founders in 1784, and of which his father was the president at the time of his death. He was also a director for several years in the Provident Institution for Savings.

Lieutenant-Governor Phillips died on the twenty-sixth of May, 1827; and, soon after, Mr. Phillips removed to the stately mansion opposite King's Chapel, which now came to him by inheritance, and which had been owned and occupied successively by Andrew Faneuil, Peter Faneuil, and the second William Phillips. He remained here until it was decided to improve the property for business purposes, when the house No. 61 Mount Vernon Street, was built for him.

While still in business, Mr. Phillips had given his attention and interest to public affairs. He was a Federalist in his politics; and we find in the library of the Boston Athenæum an anonymous pamphlet, published in 1811, of thirty-six pages, which may at least be presumed to represent his opinions, as the words, "by Jonathan Phillips or John Lowell," are inscribed on the titlepage. It is an appeal to the people, on the causes and consequences of a war with Great Britain, and these are its closing sentences: —

> I might here repeat the question, which no one can answer: What is to be gained by even a successful war with Great Britain? If there is any truth in the preceding remarks, she is neither able nor disposed to engage in a war for anything short of her essential rights. If it is admitted that we can compel her to yield these, by the aid of her enemy, we make our own ruin sure. Does this brighten our future prospects? There are few intelligent men at the present day of any party, who do not admit that the fall of British independence would destroy all hope of maintaining our own. My heart is full of this subject, but I must desist. This then is the rallying point of patriotism, — I use this word in its original sense, — the sentiment that ought to govern every pen, and animate every heart: Save the country from a British war, or all is lost.

From 1813 to 1821 Mr. Phillips was one of the Overseers of the Poor; among those who were members of the Board with him were William Phillips, his father, Thomas Perkins, William Mackay, Samuel May, Samuel Hall Walley, and Gedney King. The elder Quincy, speaking of the Board at this period, in his Municipal History of Boston, says: —

> Under the town government the members of the Board of Overseers of the Poor were elected by the votes of the whole body of the inhabitants. They were consequently always men of a high general character, known to a majority of the inhabitants, and chosen by them for their integrity, capacity, and adaptation to the service. Among them were always men distinguished for their wealth, their business talents, and charities. The uniformity of this result for many years created that general confidence which caused them to be chosen as trustees of eleemosynary funds.

In 1818 Mr. Phillips received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard College. From 1820 to 1825 he served as a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and in 1827, as a State senator. He was a good debater, and an influential member of the legislature; and as large wealth came into his possession, it seemed as though he were to occupy a position of prominence and of public usefulness in the community, as his ancestors had done before him. But he was unfitted for public life by the state of his health, and especially by the tendencies of his mind, which were morbid, sensitive and despondent. He felt the death of his brother very keenly; and eighteen months later, he was bereft of his wife, who died on the thirteenth of March, 1828. A venerable lady, Miss Eliza S. Quincy, who has contributed valuable information for this paper, and who has died during its preparation, said of Mrs. Phillips, that she was a woman of high-toned excellence, energetic, independent in character, and a valuable companion and support to her husband. After the death of his wife Mr. Phillips practically terminated his connection with public affairs, although, as we shall see, he occasionally emerged from his retirement in response to pressing calls of duty.

Mr. Phillips had made a profession of religion December 14, 1800, by joining the Old South Church, of which the Rev. Joseph Eckley was then the minister. The Rev. Dr. Wisner, a later minister, in one of his Historical Discourses, tells us that in the summer of 1803, the Old South congregation was deserted by a considerable portion of the younger class of its members, who went to the congregation in Federal Street, over which the Rev. William Ellery Channing had just been settled in the ministry. The doctrinal differences which, ten or fifteen years later, were to separate the Congregational Churches of New England into two distinct bodies, had not yet fully developed, and the change at this time from Eckley to Channing involved no necessary change in doctrinal beliefs. Among those who were attracted from the Old South to the young pastor in Federal Street, were members of the Dawes, Scollay, and Whitwell families, Josiah Salisbury and Jonathan Phillips. Samuel Hall Walley, whose father, Thomas Walley, had been a prominent member of the West Church, probably went there at or about the same time. With Mr. Phillips the reason must have been exceptionally strong, which drew him away from the Church with which his ancestors had worshipped for more than a hundred years, of which both his grandfathers had been deacons, and of which his father was a deacon at that time. This reason we find in the friendship which had subsisted between Mr. Channing and himself during the three years they spent together at Cambridge, and which was to ripen into a close and confidential intimacy, lasting without abatement until the death of the former. Mr. Phillips's name first appears on the records of the pew proprietors in Federal Street, at the annual meeting in May, 1805. In 1807 he became a member of the Standing Committee, and in 1808 he was chosen clerk, discharging with care and fidelity, as the records show, the duties of that office, until 1812, when he was succeeded by Ebenezer Rockwood. Deacon Wright, Judge Davis, Judge Dawes, Jonathan Phillips, and Josiah Salisbury, with the Rev. Mr. Channing, represented the Federal Street Church at the ordination and installation of Mr. Huntington at the Old South, May 18, 1808. When it was determined, in 1809, to erect a new meeting-house, Mr. Phillips was chosen one of the building committee, of which the other members were Samuel Hall Walley, John Tappan, David Greenough and Francis Wright. He was afterward chosen deacon, and held that office until his death. In 1818 he was a delegate with Mr. Channing to the ecclesiastical council which assisted at the installation of the Rev. James Walker as minister of the Second Congregational Church, Charlestown. But before this time, the lines had been drawn sharply between the two parties in the denomination, dividing not only Churches but families also, and separating brother from brother and friend from friend. Mr. Walley, in the diary from which we have quoted, says: —

> 1817, Oct. 22. Spent two and a half hours with the Rev. W. E. Channing this afternoon at his house, conversing with him on the subject of my intended removal from his church.
>
> Oct. 26. I yesterday addressed a letter to Mr. Channing, confirming what I had said to him respecting my removal from his church, and resigning the office of deacon. I trust that in taking this step, this very painful and important step, I have been following the dictates of conscience and the guidance of the Spirit of God.
>
> Nov. 1. Called upon the Rev. Mr. Huntington this morning, and communicated to him my intention of attaching myself and family to his church and society.

Two other brothers-in-law of Mr. Phillips had already left Mr. Channing's ministry for the Old South Church, which was greatly prospering under the pastoral care of the Rev. Joshua Huntington, namely, Aaron P. Cleveland, and Josiah Salisbury. The latter was elected a deacon of this church May 8, 1817, Edward Phillips being elected to the same office at the same time. We do not see on the records of either Church that Mrs. Jonathan Phillips ever formally transferred her membership from the Old South, which she had joined on the twenty-ninth of May, 1803, with her sisters Sarah, afterward Mrs. Tappan, and Abigail, afterward Mrs. Cleveland. John Tappan became a member of the Union, or Essex Street Church, which was founded in 1822.

The relation between Dr. Channing and Mr. Phillips was much more than that of pastor and parishioner, it was one of the closest intimacy and affection. The two fully understood and appreciated each other. Both were disqualified by temperament and by habit for entering freely into the ordinary friendships of life, or the intercourse of general society. Each found what he needed in the other. Of Dr. Channing the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody has said: —

> Gentle, courteous, kind, and utterly unassuming as he was, he had few intimate friends among those who most admired and loved him. From his own high plane he was always willing to stoop, but knew not how to descend to the level of every-day life; and for the easy commerce of society men must for the time stand side by side.

In Channing's Biography, we read of Mr. Phillips: —

> Regard for the delicacy of the living prevents a due expression here of respect for one to whose powers of original suggestion, discriminating judgment and spiritual aspiration, Dr. Channing felt himself ever newly indebted.

Dr. Channing himself thus wrote of him in a letter: —

> He is one of the intuitive men, whom I take delight in much more than in the merely logical. In truth, he is a remarkable man, an earnest lover of his fellow-creatures, and possessed with an invincible trust in their progress; an enlightened and fervent friend of liberty, undiscouraged by the dark omens which are the trials of human faith, and deeply interested in whatever affects the rights and improvement of the great body of the people. That noble intellect was made for a world of light, that noble heart for a society of truth and honor, in which it might expand joyfully and freely.

Another friend who shared the confidence and regard of these two, was the Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, who had been their college classmate, and had extended the right hand of fellowship to Dr. Channing at the time of his installation. This friend, Mr. Phillips took with him to Europe in 1833. They spent several weeks in England, and visited in religious and philanthropic circles. Among others whom they met there was Rammohun Roy, the distinguished Brahmin, who had become a Theist, and who founded the Brahmo Somaj.

Still another chosen friend was Dr. Charles Follen, of Harvard College, a warm-hearted advocate of the rights of the colored race, who perished in the "Lexington" on Long Island Sound, with an hundred others, January, 1840. The Standing Committee refused the use of the Federal Street Meeting-house for a special memorial service for him, but Dr. Channing preached his funeral sermon there on the following Sunday.

Mr. Phillips was regarded by his friends as one of the deepest and most independent thinkers in New England at the time. He was well read in ancient and modern literature, and he took especial pleasure in history. He was an excellent talker, had a good deal of dry humor, and could tell a story very well. Mr. George P. Bradford, writing in the Memorial History, of philosophic thought in Boston from the year 1830 onward, mentions among the conspicuous influences in the intellectual life of that period, Mr. Garrison's writings in the Liberator, Dr. Channing's preaching, Mr. Emerson's lectures, and "the conversations at the house of Dr. Channing, in which Mr. Jonathan Phillips, Dr. Follen, George Ripley, and others took part."

The Rev. Dr. Orville Dewey, who preached from 1821 to 1823 as an assistant to Dr. Channing, has left in his autobiography, the following account of Mr. Phillips:

> The most remarkable man, next to Channing, that I became acquainted with during this residence of two years in Boston, was Jonathan Phillips. He was a merchant by profession, but inherited a large fortune, and was never, that I know, engaged much in active business. He led, when I knew him, a contemplative life, was an assiduous reader, and a deeper thinker. He had a splendid library, and spent much of his time among his books. If he had had the proper training for it, I always thought he

would have made a great metaphysician. His conversation was often profound, and always original, — always drawn from the workings of his own mind, and was always occupied with great philosophical and religious themes. It was born of struggle, more, I think, than any man's I ever talked with. For he had a great moral nature, and great difficulties within, arising partly from his religious education, but yet more from the contact with actual life of a very sensitive temperament, and much ill health. He had worked his way out independently from the former, and stood on firm ground; and when some of his family friends charged Channing with having drawn him away from Orthodoxy, Channing replied, "No, he has influenced me more than I have influenced him."

In London in 1833, I met Mr. Phillips with Dr. Tuckerman, well known as the pioneer in the ministry to the poor in cities, about to take the tour on the Continent. He invited me to join them, and we travelled together on the Rhine and in Switzerland. It was on this journey that I became acquainted with the sad effect produced upon him by great and depressing indisposition. His case was very singular, and explains things in him that surprised his acquaintances very much, and, in fact, did him much wrong with them. It was a scrofulous condition of the stomach, and when developed by taking cold, it was something dreadful to hear him describe. The effect was to make entirely another man of him. He who was affluent in means and disposition became suddenly not only depressed and melancholy, but anxious about expenses, sharp with the courier upon that point, and not at all agreeable as a travelling companion. But when the fit passed off, which seemed for the time to be a kind of insanity, his spirits rose, and his released faculties burst out in actual splendor. He became gay; he enjoyed everything, and especially the scenery around him. I never knew before that his æsthetic nature was so fine. He said so many admirable things while we were going over Switzerland, that I was sorry afterwards that I had not noted them down at the time, and written a sheet or two of Phillipsiana. His countenance changed as much as his conversation, and its expression became actually beautiful. There was a miniature likeness taken of him in London. I went to see it; and when I expressed to the artist my warm approval of it, he said: "I am glad to have you say that; for I wanted to draw out all the sweetness of that man's face."

Some one writing of Dr. Channing gives us this sketch: "In company with his friend, Mr. Phillips, he walks in the sunny streets around the Common, discussing high themes of religion and humanity." Such high converse prepared them both for action, when the time for action came.

In November, 1837, the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered by a mob in Alton, Illinois, while defending the press with which he had been printing an anti-slavery newspaper. Mob violence had been only too successful during the two or three years preceding, in various parts of the country, in its assaults upon anti-slavery men, and the printing press of James G. Birney, in Cincinnati, had been destroyed; but until now no blood had been shed. It was determined to hold a meeting in Boston, to take appropriate notice of this crowning crime against free speech and a free press, and the city authorities were asked to open Faneuil Hall for the purpose. The petition was signed by one hundred and ten citizens, among whom were William E. Channing, Benjamin B. Mussey, George W. Light, William D. Ticknor, James T. Fields, Moses Mellen, Dexter S. King, Samuel L. Gould, Nathaniel Willis, Charles S. Kendall, Francis Jackson, William B. Towne, George H. Davis, Francis D. Stedman, Samuel E. Sewall, William Lloyd Garrison, George W. Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Ellis Gray Loring, Benjamin F. Hallett, George Savage, Drury Fairbanks, William B. Spooner, Gamaliel Bradford, James Field, Jr., Ira Greenwood, James H. Weeks.

A counter petition was immediately put in circulation, as follows: —

Understanding that a request has been made by a number of citizens for the use of Faneuil Hall on Monday evening next, and believing the object of said meeting to be of such an exciting character as to endanger the peace of the city, the undersigned request that the use of the Hall may not be granted for the said purpose.

This petition bore two hundred signatures, among which the more prominent names were Philo S. Shelton, Henry Edwards, John Eliot Thayer, Charles Stoddard, Theodore Chase, Thomas B. Curtis, Francis Bacon, Peter R. Dalton, Gardner Brewer, William T. Andrews, Lynde Walter, George A. Goddard, John H. Pearson, Samuel J. Bridge, Thomas Dixon, John H. Thorndike, Thomas Lamb, Andrew T. Hall, Martin Brimmer, William B. Reynolds, John Bryant, Jr., William Hayden, Jr., Benjamin Rich, Caleb Curtis, Josiah Bradlee, Peter T. Jackson, Giles Lodge, John Dorr, Samuel Cabot, Moses Williams, John P. Townsend, A. H. Fiske, Harrison Gray Otis, Henry Oxnard, W. H. Bordman, Israel Whitney, William F. Weld, Robert B. Forbes, George W. Lyman, William Bramhall, George B. Blake, William G. Brooks, Charles Larkin, Martin Bates, Jr., John D. Williams, Samuel A. Appleton, Zachariah Jellison, Joseph West, William Lincoln, Gardner Colby, Francis Welch, John L. Dimmock, Benjamin Bangs, Ammi C. Lombard, John D. Bates.

This conservative remonstrance prevailed with the authorities. We should not, however, be too ready to censure them, or to condemn those who urged them to do as they did. We can now see that they made a great mistake; that the proposed meeting should have been promptly permitted, and that the undoubted rights of those who were to hold it should have been protected at all hazards. But it is almost impossible for us to realize how excitable the public mind then was; and we may well believe that a majority, certainly, of those who signed the counter petition, were sincere in the conviction that to hold such a meeting, under all the circumstances, and especially to hold it in the evening, would be to seriously endanger the peace of the city, and perhaps to lead to results as disgraceful and deadly as the events at Alton, which it was intended to condemn. Fortunately, the inspiration of liberty proved stronger than the impulse of expediency, or even than the instinct of self-preservation. An excitement arose, very different, in locality and in kind, from that of which the authorities had stood in fear. In the columns of the Daily Advertiser, whose editor had approved the decision at the City Hall, a noble letter from Dr. Channing appeared, insisting on the right of free speech and of a free press. He said that he had expressly stipulated, when he headed the petition, that the meeting should not be identified with any party, society, or body of men; and he added, —

> What we want is that the people should speak solemnly, authoritatively, against mobs, against the substitution of lawless force for the laws, against the prostration of our dearest rights by the hand of violence.

A crowded meeting was held in the Supreme Court room, on Sunday evening, the third of December, at which Mr. George Bond presided. Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett was secretary, and offered the following resolution: —

> *Resolved*, That "the glory of that consecrated hall," in which our fathers assembled to express their opinions on all occasions "of an exciting character," is departed, and become desecrated to the idols and worshippers of despotism, if the fatal precedent is to be established by our rulers that Faneuil Hall shall be closed against citizens, be they many or be they few, who desire to assemble there in order to pledge themselves to the exertion of their whole influence for the suppression of mobs, for the discouragement of violence, for the vindication of the supremacy of the laws, and especially for the assertion and defence of the freedom of the press.

Dr. Channing was not present, but his letter in the Advertiser was read, and a new petition was started, with his name again at the head, as follows: —

The undersigned, citizens of Boston, request that the use of Faneuil Hall may be granted to them on Friday the eighth of December, at 10 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of holding a public meeting to notice in a suitable manner the recent murder in the city of Alton of a native of New England, a citizen of the free State of Illinois, who fell in defence of the freedom of the press.

Between four and five hundred names were appended to this request. We give a few of them, omitting those which had been attached to the original petition: George Bond, Perez Gill, Charles G. Greene, William Beals, Henry Williams, John A. McGaw, Charles Scudder, Avery Plumer, John Dane, Philip Greely, Jr., George F. Guild, J. Ingersoll Bowditch, Andrew S. March, John L. Emmons, Israel Nash, Amasa Walker, George Wm. Bond, J. B. Kimball, David Snow, Samuel Johnson, Thomas A. Davis, Eben Wheelwright, M. H. Simpson, Arthur Pickering, C. Allen Browne, Josiah Colby, Increase S. Withington, James Deshon, Jonathan Phillips, Joseph Sewall, Henry Gassett, Abner Phelps, Ralph Huntington, William A. Wellman, S. G. Shipley, H. I. Bowditch, Francis S. Carruth, Samuel C. Pomroy, Elisha Vinton, Charles C. Burr, Ruggles Slack, George Sumner, Samuel Downer, Jr., John Gulliver, J. G. Hall, Abel Tompkins, Edward Appleton, Thomas J. Lobdell, John S. Dwight, Lewis Bullard, Frederick W. Holland, Charles C. Barry, Caleb Pratt, John Sowdon, E. W. Bouvé, John Bates, Elisha F. Fales, Charles Bowen.

We have brushed the dust of nearly half a century from the files on which these petitions have been preserved, for the sake of transcribing the names which we have given. The opposing lists do not indicate the lines on which the division took place, as the anti-slavery agitation in this community went on; but a study of them in the light of subsequent events is interesting, as showing the changes which occurred as from time to time the precise issue was shifted, and especially the steadfast adherence to the cause of human freedom of many of our fellow-citizens, through evil report and through good report, until the great victory was won.

The second appeal to the Board of Aldermen was not in vain. The following order was passed : —

> That the circumstances attending the present petition being materially different from those under which the Board decided against a former one, the use of the hall be granted to the petitioners on Friday next as prayed for.

The meeting, as we know, was held, and "free discussion of the subject of free discussion" was secured in Boston. Mr. Jonathan Phillips presided, and George William Phillips and John A. Bolles were the secretaries. Prayer was offered by the Rev. E. M. P. Wells, for long years afterward known as a devoted city missionary of the Episcopal Church in Boston. Dr. Channing made an impressive address, and was followed on the same side by Benjamin F. Hallett and George S. Hillard. The floor was then taken by the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, James T. Austin, who in the course of a violent speech declared that Lovejoy had "died as the fool dieth," and that the men who had killed him were as great patriots as those who threw the tea into Boston harbor. This speech "awakened the latent emotions of all parties, and shouts of approval and hisses of contempt alternately drowned each other. It was in the midst of this uproar that the chairman, turning to his friend, Dr. Channing, said, with a smile, 'Can you stand thunder?' 'Such thunder as this,' was the answer, 'in any measure.'" Wendell Phillips now ascended the platform, to address for the first time a public assembly. The Attorney-General had given him his opportunity, and he made good use of it. "When I heard," said he, "the gentleman lay down principles which placed the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips," pointing to their portraits, "would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead."

The Advertiser of the next day thus quietly disposed of the whole affair: —

> We publish the official account of the meeting of yesterday in Faneuil Hall. Our reporter has furnished a sketch of the speeches, but we have not room for it. We do not deem it important, as the meeting has not excited any deep interest.

It is of this period that Dr. Channing's biographer writes: —

> Many of the early and near friends of Dr. Channing fell away from him. The absurd notion was originated at this time, that he intended to change his calling for a political one. The coldness toward him which then began to manifest itself was never entirely removed, and suspicions with regard to the purity of his aim were cherished by a few, even to the end of his life.

On the other hand, the Liberator, with characteristic plainness of speech, said of one of his letters, that it was "defective in principle, false in its charity, and inconsistent in its reasoning." But Dr. Channing went forward, according to his own independent convictions, uninfluenced by the extremists on either side; and his friend, Mr. Phillips, stood manfully with him. In 1839, he published Remarks on the Slavery Question, in a Letter to Jonathan Phillips, Esq., a pamphlet of ninety-one pages, suggested by a speech by Mr. Clay, in the United States Senate, on abolition petitions. In the introduction, the author said: —

> Whether this communication will answer the public ends which I have proposed, I know not; but it will do one good of a personal nature. It will be a memorial, however brief, of a friendship which began in our youth, and which has withstood

the vicissitudes of so many years, that we may expect it to go down with us to our graves. It pleases me that our names should be associated in a work, which though written in haste and for a temporary exigency, yet reflects something of both our minds. It is fit that the thoughts unfolded in this letter, should be addressed to one with whom I have conversed long and familiarly on the great interests of human nature. I owe you much for the light and strength you have given me, and especially for the faith and hope, which, under much personal suffering and depression, you have cherished and expressed in regard to the destinies of our race. We have given much of our sympathy to the multitude. We have felt more for the many who are forgotten, than for the few who shine; and our great inquiry has been, how the mass of people may be raised from ignorance and sensuality, to a higher social, moral and religious life. We have rejoiced together in the progress already made by individuals and communities; but a voice has come to us from the depths of human suffering, from the abuses of the social state, from the teachings of Jesus Christ, urging the need of new struggle with giant evils, and of new efforts for the diffusion of comforts, refinements, quickening truths, enlightened piety and disinterested virtue. A few years will bring us to our journey's end. To the last, I trust we shall speak words of blessing to our race, and words of encouragement to all who toil and suffer for its good.

This pamphlet called forth a bitter reply, published anonymously, but which we know to have been written by Mr. James T. Austin. It drew the following comparison between Mr. Clay's speech, and the remarks of Dr. Channing upon it: —

The one is the speech of a Senator to the statesmen of his country; the other is the letter of a clergyman to the deacon of his parish. . . . The speech considers things as they are, and bears practically on the business and affairs of life; the letter deals with a theoretical state of things which can never have real existence. The speech takes man as it finds him, and proposes to soften the passions of his nature, and control the motions of his conduct; the letter considers man as he [*sic*] would have

> him to be, and teaches an extravagant and therefore false morality. The argument of Mr. Clay, even when it fails to convince our understanding, brings us to a doubt whether it may not be safer to trust his judgment than our own. The logic of the letter leads to an eventual connection between the races at which the soul sickens with loathing and disgust. Mr. Clay entered upon the subject at the risk of losing the good opinion of a portion of his fellow-citizens, at a time when his own interests were most concerned to conciliate universal favor . . . Dr. Channing is to gain new popularity for his new efforts, and enjoy the incense of applause from partial friends who reverence his talents as pagans do the sun.

In 1838, the law in Massachusetts under which the friends of temperance sought to regulate and restrict the traffic in ardent spirits, was known as the Fifteen Gallon Law. Whatever we may think of its provisions there is no doubt that the purpose for which it was enacted was that which may properly control all legislation in the interest of temperance, namely, to check, and, so far as possible, to stop drinking at bars and in tippling shops. A movement being in progress for the repeal of this law, two meetings were held, in June and July, 1838, in the Savings Bank building, at which Jonathan Phillips was chairman and George S. Hillard, secretary. At the second of these meetings, held July 2, the report of a committee previously appointed was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed. The committee consisted of Jonathan Phillips, James Savage, Edward Brooks, William Lawrence, Pliny Cutler, Edmund Quincy, William Appleton, Amasa Walker, and Horace Mann; and this was their report, dated July 9: —

> We deny that there is anything in the nature of a sumptuary act in the provision under consideration; we deny that it interferes with the management of one's domestic concerns, or with "homebred, fireside rights." We deny that it undertakes to prescribe what we shall eat and what we shall drink. It

simply forbids a particular form of traffic, which long experience has shown to be attended with unqualified evil. It does not prohibit the use of the article as a drink, but merely prescribes the quantity which may be bought at one time. Every one may buy it, provided he will buy fifteen gallons at a time. There is no more of interference with natural rights in such a law, than in two thirds of those which make up the statute book.

On the twenty-seventh of August, 1839, Mr. Phillips married Margaret, daughter of Captain James Magee, who had been a noted shipmaster and merchant of the preceding generation. He commanded the "Hope," from New York, in 1786, in which Major Samuel Shaw made his second voyage to China. In February, 1789, he sailed from Boston to the same destination, in command of the "Astræa," a ship belonging to Mr. Elias H. Derby of Salem; and Mr. Thomas Handasyd Perkins, with whom he was connected by marriage, accompanied him as supercargo. In 1791 he sailed again from Boston, in the employ of Mr. Perkins, in the "Margaret," "bound on a voyage of observation and enterprise to the northwest coast of this continent," and on that coast he took on board twelve or fifteen hundred sea-otter skins, which he sold in China at from thirty to forty dollars apiece. He lived in the well-known house in Roxbury which had been owned by Governor Shirley and Judge Hutchinson, and which his widow sold in 1819 to Governor Eustis. Margaret Magee was born March 19, 1791; and the ship in which her father, six months later, sailed on a voyage round the globe, and of which he was part owner, was undoubtedly named in her honor. She was a member of the Federal Street Church, and she is described as "a woman of taste and cultivation." After their marriage Mr. and Mrs. Phillips spent some time abroad. While in Italy, Mr. Phillips allowed his wife "to select some paintings by the first masters from a palace in Bologna, which formed the ornament of his house in Mount Vernon Street. A full-length portrait of a prince of the House of Orange, by Vandyke, said by Allston to be a fine specimen of that master, and several other originals of great value, were among them." Mrs. Phillips died on the twenty-third of June, 1849.

During his more active years, and later, in his comparative retirement, Mr. Phillips manifested a decided interest in whatever measures were proposed for the advancement in intelligence and character of the community in which he lived. He was not by nature liberal, and he did not give easily; but when he gave, it was on principle and with discrimination. In 1807, he was one of the original proprietors of the Boston Athenæum; and in 1850, he was a contributor towards the purchase of General Washington's library for that institution. In 1851, as guardian with the elder Josiah Quincy, of Edward Bromfield Phillips, under the will of Edward Phillips, he sold to the proprietors four houses in Beacon Street, on the site of which their present building stands.

In 1830, when the first board of trustees of the Perkins Institution for the Blind was elected, Mr. Phillips was chosen president. In 1848, he gave two thousand dollars to the Boston Society of Natural History, and by his will ten thousand dollars more. He subscribed ten thousand dollars towards the Music Hall, and was one of the earliest benefactors of the public library. Mr. Justin Winsor, referring to the first gift of Mr. Joshua Bates to the library, says: "A week before this letter was received, the City Council had passed the first library ordinance. The offer of Mr. Bates made sure at once, what was likely, however, in due time to have been attained; for it was not then known that the Hon. Jonathan Phillips had already, on September 28, 1849, drawn a will bequeathing twenty thousand dollars 'to the maintenance of a free public library.' The same gentleman now, under the impulse of the general feeling, made a separate, immediate gift of ten thousand dollars 'for the purchase of books.' This was on April 14, 1853. The other sum was received after his death, April, 1861, and the two to-day constitute, after Mr. Bates's fifty thousand dollars, the largest single fund of the library." Mr. Phillips was the largest contributor in Boston to the Arctic expedition from this country of 1860. Not many months before his death, he was asked to make a donation towards the cost of a chime of bells for the new meeting-house in Arlington Street, which had just been built for the church and congregation in Federal Street, of which he had been a member for more than half a century; and he at once said that he would assume the entire cost of the chime. He loved the very streets and stones of the city. He delighted in the Common, in and around which we have seen him, as a young man, walking with his early companions, and in middle life, with his excellent minister. He used to say in reference to it, that he took pleasure in the thought that it belonged to the people and was always open and free for their enjoyment. When he died, he bequeathed to the city of Boston twenty thousand dollars "as a trust fund, the income of which shall be annually expended to adorn and embellish the streets and public places of the city." At the time, this bequest seemed to many to be meaningless and of little value; but Mr. Samuel C. Cobb, when he was mayor, saw how it could be put to a good purpose, and on his recommendation, in 1875, the aldermen voted to use a portion of the income to erect a statue of the elder Josiah Quincy in front of the City Hall. It would have been especially gratifying to Mr. Phillips could he have foreseen that the first use made of this money would be thus to do honor to his cousin and life-long friend. In 1879, copies in bronze of the two representative statues of Massachusetts in the Capitol at Washington, — those of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams, — were ordered by the aldermen at the expense of the same fund; and it was also drawn upon, to beautify the open space on which the Emancipation group, presented to the city by Mr. Moses Kimball, was placed.

Mr. Phillips was admitted to the New England Historic Genealogical Society as an honorary member, January 11, 1847.

He died after a short illness, at his house in Mount Vernon Street, on Sunday, the twenty-ninth of July, 1860. None of his relatives or intimate friends were with him at the time. His son William was absent on a voyage to Labrador. Funeral services were held at the house, on the Wednesday following, and were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Gannett; and the burial took place at Mount Auburn. It being in the midst of the summer vacation, the attendance was comparatively small. Mr. Phillips's surviving sister, Mrs. Burgess of Dedham, was present with her family. His nephew, Samuel Hurd Walley, was represented by his daughter Miriam and her husband, and his son, Henshaw Bates Walley. The venerable Josiah Quincy, eighty-eight years of age, was also there, with his son, Josiah Quincy, Jr.; and the Salisbury family was represented.

Mr. Phillips had by his first wife five children, three of whom died young. His eldest child, Martha Salisbury, was born December 28, 1806, and died March 24, 1839; His youngest child, William, survived him. This son was born in the Bromfield mansion in Beacon Street, January 11, 1819, and was baptized by Dr. Channing on the thirty-first of the same month. He was a sickly child, and could not therefore be sent to the academy. He passed a part of his boyhood at Harvard, Massachusetts, under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Blanchard; and at Lancaster, under Mr. Carter. Accompanying his father on one of his visits to England, he was put to school there for a time. He was admitted to the Junior Class in Harvard

College in January, 1838, but did not complete the course of study; the bachelor's degree was given to him in 1867. He spent very little time in Boston after attaining his majority, but travelled and lived abroad, coming home frequently to make short visits. He was never married. In 1848 he inherited a handsome property from his cousin, Edward Bromfield Phillips, son of Edward Phillips, who also left one hundred thousand dollars to Harvard College for its Observatory; and in 1860, the large estate of his father came into his possession. He died at Santa Cruz, West Indies, on the eighth of April, 1873. He was the last to bear the family name, among the descendants of the first William Phillips and his wife Abigail, daughter of the second Edward Bromfield.

ANDREW JOHONNOT

Andrew Johonnot was the eldest son of Oliver Johonnot, and his wife Mary Edwards, of Boston, Massachusetts, where he was born June 11, 1784. He was of Huguenot descent; his immigrant ancestor, Daniel Johonnot, who was born in France about 1668, being one of the party of thirty families which arrived in Boston, in the year 1686. Daniel Johonnot came in company with his uncle Andrew Sigourney, — in French, André Sejourné, — a distiller from Rochelle, and went with him to the new settlement of Oxford, where they remained till the settlement was broken up, August 25, 1696, by the Indians, who massacred John Johnson and his three children. "Mrs. Johnson," says Mr. Andrew Johonnot, in an account of the family printed in the sixth volume of the Historical and Genealogical Register, "was the daughter of Andrew Sigourney, and tradition in the Johonnot family relates that she was rescued at that time from the Indians by her cousin, Daniel Johonnot, to whom she was subsequently married." Most of the settlers removed to Boston after the massacre, and among them was Daniel Johonnot. He was one of the French Protestants who petitioned the General Court, in 1730, to have conferred upon them "the Rights and Privileges of Denizens, or Free-born subjects of the King of Great Britain."

Andrew Johonnot, son of the immigrant, born June 21, 1705, was a distiller in Boston as his father had been.

He had several children, of whom Daniel, born 1732, who settled in the mercantile business in Middletown, Connecticut, commanded a company in the French war.

Oliver Johonnot, the father of the subject of this memoir, was a son of Daniel, of Middletown, and was born in that town, January 1, 1760. His father having died when he was quite young, he went to reside with his grandmother in Boston, where he was educated in the public schools. He served in the Revolutionary navy; and some interesting incidents in his life, while in the service of his country, are narrated by his son in the Historical and Genealogical Register, volume sixth, pages 362–365. He married his cousin Mary, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Johonnot) Edwards.

Andrew Johonnot, like his father, received his education at the public schools in Boston. Here he was under the charge of the well-known teachers, Caleb Bingham and James Carter, with the exception of a short period, when he was under the instruction of the Rev. Ebenezer Wight, of Dedham, previously pastor of the Hollis Street Church in Boston. He began business as a dry-goods dealer, at No. 30 Cornhill, about the year 1807, where he continued until about the beginning of the war of 1812, when he removed to Windsor, Vermont, and there continued in the same business to the close of the war.

In February, 1816, he returned to Boston and resumed business, first at No. 85 Court Street, and subsequently at No. 14½ Cornhill, then at No. 24 of that street. Here he continued until 1823, when he relinquished the dry-goods business and was appointed messenger of the City Bank, where he continued, as messenger and clerk, for more than a quarter of a century. About ten years before his death, he resigned his situation, having acquired a competence; and enjoyed a green old age, beloved and respected by his numerous friends and relatives.

Mr. Johonnot was admitted a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society January 22, 1848. He took a deep interest in the society and its objects, and was a frequent visitor at its rooms and a constant attendant at its meetings. He had a vast fund of information relating to Boston in past times, particularly of the Huguenot families that settled here; and his conversation on these subjects was eagerly listened to.

He was married May 15, 1811, by the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell, to Harriet, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Berry) Harris, who survived him, and died January 5, 1872. They had two sons and two daughters: namely, Mary Elizabeth and Andrew Edwards, born in Windsor, Vermont; and William Harris and Harriet Sophia, born in Boston. His elder son, Andrew E. Johonnot, married Elizabeth Chester Gaffield, and had three children: Harriet Elizabeth, Thomas Gaffield, and Grace Edwards. His younger son, William H. Johonnot, married Harriet Willard, by whom he had William Levi, Harriet Willard, and Sarah Frothingham. William's wife Harriet died June 26, 1850; and he married, secondly, Elizabeth Persis Brigham, and had John Olivier and Frank Brigham, born in Boston; and Charles Otis and Harris Edwards, born in Newton.

Andrew Johonnot was the author of two articles on the Johonnot Family, which were published in the Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1852, and April, 1853. He died at Boston August 20, 1860, aged seventy-six.

A correspondent of the Christian Register, for September 15, 1860, who, I am informed by the family, was Mr. Lewis G. Pray, thus writes of Mr. Johonnot: —

> He was a descendant of a well-known Huguenot family, who were driven from their home and native land in company with the Sigourneys, the Oliviers, the Boyers, and others, by the fury of a religious persecution in 1686; and who came to take up

their residence in Boston. He was the son of Major Johonnot, of Revolutionary memory, who was present at the ceremony of the completion of Bunker Hill Monument, in company with a hundred other veterans, at the great age of eighty-four, and died in 1847, aged eighty-seven. Andrew was born in Boston, in 1784; was educated at our public schools; and will be remembered best as an officer of the City Bank for more than a quarter of a century, never swerving in this, or in any other trust ever confided to him. Quiet, amiable, and conscientious, he was one of those who form around themselves a sphere of sympathy and love, and find in home affections and the discharge of Christian duties the chief happiness of their lives. Conservative in his general thoughts and habits, he took much delight in the study of the past, and a peculiar and deep interest in the proceedings of the Historic Genealogical Society, of which he was an early and constant member. Well grounded in the facts and principles of Christianity by study, and by sitting under the gifted ministries of Buckminster, Palfrey, Lothrop and Barrett, he early made a profession of his belief, and walked through life in all sincerity, in accordance with liberal, but strict views of Christian duty. In fine, he was one of those excellent men who make up a large portion of every American community, — the salt of the earth, — the substratum upon which rests the safety and success of our republican institutions. We do honor to ourselves when we honor such a class of men; and cannot but mourn when any of their number is taken from us.

JEFFREY RICHARDSON, JUNIOR

Mr. Richardson was the eldest surviving son of Mr. Jeffrey Richardson, of Boston, the head of a firm of iron merchants, which for a long time bore a high reputation. He was a descendant in the fourth generation from Jeffrey[1] Richardson, a native of Yorkshire, England, born in 1693, who came to this country as early as 1720, and settled in Boston, where he resided in Pond Lane, now Bedford Street. He married Ann Kirkland, by whom he had six children. Jeffrey,[2] the youngest child, was born February 22, 1743, old style; married first, March 31, 1766, Hannah, daughter of Mr. Samuel Webb; and secondly, October 22, 1788, Rebecca, daughter of Mr. James Brackett. His oldest son, Jeffrey,[3] born October 9, 1789, was the father of the subject of this sketch.

His mother was Sally, daughter of Lemuel Brackett, of Quincy, a descendant of Captain Richard[1] Brackett, said to have been a native of Scotland, who settled early in Braintree, Massachusetts; was a member of the Artillery Company, and for many years town clerk of Braintree. The descent of Mrs. Richardson from him was through James,[2] born about 1645; Nathan,[3] born September 29, 1677; James,[4] born November 3, 1709; James,[5] baptized January 25, 1736; and Lemuel,[6] her father, born September 8, 1780.

Jeffrey Richardson, Jr., was born in Boston, July 19, 1831. He was educated in part in the public schools there, and subsequently attended, for four or five years, the Chauncy Hall School in Chauncy Street, of which Mr. Gideon F. Thayer was principal. Among his fellow-students at that school was the Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee, A. M., now pastor of the Harrison Square Church, Dorchester. He writes of young Jeffrey as follows: —

> As I recall him, he was a boy of very loving disposition, very sincere in his attachments, impulsive, truthful, the soul of honor, and thoroughly good and pure. I should say that he had, notwithstanding he was so young, a very keen eye for reading character; and that he scorned, from the very depths of his soul, everything which bordered in the least upon hypocrisy; trying always in his dealings with his companions to be upright and true to the very core of his being.

Mr. Thomas Cushing, who succeeded Mr. Thayer as principal of the Chauncy Hall School, and who was then an instructor there, has a favorable impression of Jeffrey Richardson as a boy and a scholar.

After leaving school he became an apprentice to the hardware business in the store of Messrs. Lovett & Wellington, 125 Milk Street, Boston. Here he remained till he was twenty-two years old. In November, 1853, he entered as a bookkeeper the counting-room of Messrs. Jeffrey Richardson & Brothers, iron merchants, No. 1 Central Wharf, of which firm his father was the senior partner. After holding this position for some time, his father offered to take him into the firm as a partner; but he declined the offer, preferring to remain free from the responsibilities which a partnership would impose upon him. He held this position till March, 1860, when his health had become so enfeebled that he was obliged to retire from active business.

While in his father's store, a friendship sprang up between him and Mr. Danforth S. Newcomb, a member of the firm. Mr. Newcomb was in religion an ardent Methodist, and Mr. Richardson often accompanied him to the First Methodist Episcopal Church, in Hanover Street, of which Mr. Newcomb was a member. He soon became much attached to that religious denomination; and a believer in its doctrines. On the fifth of February, 1854, he was admitted to full communion in that church. By a singular coincidence, his sister, on the same day, joined the Unitarian denomination, being admitted to the Federal Street Church, of which the Rev. Dr. Gannett was pastor. Neither knew till afterwards of the other's intended admission. Mr. Newcomb went for his health to the East Indies, and died at sea, July 3, 1854, on the passage home. The news of his death had a serious effect on the mind of Mr. Richardson, and he became more firmly fixed in his religious sentiments.

Mr. Richardson took much interest in historical and genealogical matters. On the thirtieth of March he was admitted a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He spent much time in tracing his ancestry, and compiled and printed genealogies of his paternal and maternal families. Their titles are: —

Genealogical and Biographical Sketch of the Name and Family of Richardson, from the Year 1720 to the Year 1860. By Jeffrey Richardson, Jr.: Boston, 1860. 30 pages, royal octavo.

Genealogical and Biographical Sketch of the Name and Family of Brackett, from the Year 1630 to the Year 1860. By Jeffrey Richardson, Jr.: Boston, 1860. 56 pages, royal octavo.

Mr. Richardson's course of life was in accordance with and appropriate to his religious professions. The Rev. John W. Dadmun, D.D., whose acquaintance with him lasted for about four years, bears testimony to the moral and religious excellence of his character. At the age of twenty-nine, at Boston, on the sixth of October, 1860, he departed this life in peace, with a full belief in a life of happiness beyond the grave.

FREDERICK PALMER TRACY

Frederick Palmer Tracy was the son of Cyrus and Hannah Mason (Snow) Tracy, and was born in Scotland, then a parish in the town of Windham, Connecticut, February 22, 1815. He received from his parents the name of Frederick Plummer, but in early manhood he preferred the name of Palmer, and the change was made according to his wishes by the legislature of the State.

He descended from Lieutenant Thomas Tracy, his first American ancestor, son of Nathaniel Tracy, of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, England, born 1610. Thomas came to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1636, and joined the forces against the Pequots. He removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1637; to Saybrook, in the same State, in 1645; to Norwich, Connecticut, in 1660, where he settled, and was one of the founders of the town. He was the first representative of the town, a commissioner on the part of Connecticut to settle the boundary between that colony and Rhode Island, and was a large landholder. He belonged to the family of Tracy seated at Loddington, Gloucestershire, England, since the time of Ethelred II., and which is now represented by Charles Douglas Richard Hanbury Tracy, Baron Sudeley. He died in Norwich, November 7, 1685.

Jonathan Tracy, second son of Thomas, was born 1644, and settled in Preston, Connecticut. He married, July

11, 1672, Mary, daughter of Lieutenant Francis Griswold. He married, second, Mary Richards, August 21, 1711. He died in 1728. Jonathan Tracy, the first son of Jonathan, was born in Preston, 1675. He married Anna Palmer, lived in Preston, and died in 1704. Jonathan Tracy, first son of Jonathan, last named, born 1702, married his first cousin, Anna Palmer, daughter of Joseph and Abigail Palmer of Stonington, Connecticut. He died in 1778. Samuel Tracy, second son of Jonathan, was born in Preston, February 28, 1731; married Amy Partridge; removed from Preston to Tunbridge, Vermont; died October 6, 1815. Cyrus Tracy, second son of Samuel, born August 6, 1757; married Elizabeth Palmer, of Windham; was a surgeon in the army of the Revolution; was in the battle of White Plains, and at the capture of Fort Griswold. He settled in Tunbridge, but resided for some time in Scotland, Connecticut.

Cyrus Tracy, the father of the subject of this sketch, was born in Scotland, July 20, 1784. He married Hannah Mason Snow, daughter of Samuel Snow, of Ashford, Connecticut, March 3, 1808. She belonged to one of the honored and influential families of that town. He was a machinist by trade, at which he wrought with diligence, occupying a respectable and useful position in the community where he resided, and was greatly respected for his purity of life and Christian deportment. He died in Lynn, Massachusetts, July 20, 1860.

The family of Tracy has been remarkable in all of its generations for enterprise, thrift, probity, correct business habits, and a strong attachment to, and a hearty, liberal support of, literary, philanthropic, and religious institutions. Several of the family are well known as having attained high literary and professional distinction.

Cyrus and Hannah Mason Tracy were blessed with four sons: George Anson, born January 16, 1809, and died in 1854; Erasmus Darwin, born September 22, 1810, and died in 1872; Frederick Palmer; Cyrus Mason, born May 7, 1824. The last-named is devoted to literary pursuits, and is on the editorial staff of the Lynn (Mass.) Transcript.

When Frederick was five years old, his parents removed to New London, Connecticut, where his schooling commenced; and for some time he was a pupil of "Master Dow," as he was called, a brother of the celebrated Lorenzo Dow, whose singular methods of punishment on the offending boys gave him great notoriety through all of that region. From New London his parents removed to Norwich Falls, Connecticut, and from thence to Windham, the original family home. Here the boyhood of Frederick was spent largely on the farm and in the machine-shop of his father, his time being divided between manual labor and attending the district school. He early showed a great desire for learning and fondness for books, and would read whatever came to hand; and such was the strength of his memory, that whatever he read he remembered. His power of argumentation was early developed, and he became an active leader in the village debating society.

Early in the year 1832, when seventeen years of age, he was employed with his father as machinist in the town of Bozrah, Connecticut. On listening to a discourse by the Rev. Charles Hayward, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, about the first of May of that year, he became deeply interested in the subject of religion, and soon after was received into the membership of that Church. His religious zeal was great; and he at once commenced speaking of his experience, and on other subjects, in the religious meetings. He soon became deeply impressed with the idea that it was his duty to enter the ministry, and on the third of January, 1833, he left the machine-shop, and commenced preparation for his future work. He began the study of the Greek language under a competent teacher, devoting a part of his time to other studies. On the thirteenth of April following, he was licensed to preach according to the usage of his Church; and in June following he was admitted on probation in the New England Conference in Boston, being but eighteen years and five months old. His first appointment was Hebron, Connecticut. The next year he was appointed to Salem, in the same State. During these probationary years in the Conference, in addition to the duties of a laborious pastorate, the advance made in his literary and theological studies was surprising. Although his educational advantages had been limited, he was a diligent student, and had acquired a good understanding of his own language, and made considerable proficiency in a knowledge of other languages. His knowledge of general literature was very respectable.

At a Conference held in Lynn, Massachusetts, June 13, 1835, he was admitted into full membership, and was ordained deacon by Bishop John Emory. His appointment for that year was in Southbridge, Massachusetts. There his great acumen and forcible logic were displayed in a public theological debate, which attracted considerable attention. In 1836 he was appointed to South Boston; in 1837 he was ordained an elder by Bishop Beverly Waugh, at a Conference held at Nantucket, Massachusetts, June 27, — being the youngest man in New England, at that time, who had attained to that position, — and was appointed to Newbury, Massachusetts. This year he joined the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Societies. In 1838 his appointment was South Street, Lynn, Massachusetts, which was his last appointment in connection with the New England Conference.

In 1838, while in Lynn, he conceived the idea of emigrating to Oregon, and published, for a year, a monthly periodical, called The Oregonian, devoted to the advocacy of his cherished purpose of removing to that then almost unknown section of the country. In 1839 he disconnected himself from the Conference by location, with the intention of arranging and carrying out his plan of emigration; but the enterprise failed, and, in 1840, he removed to Concord, New Hampshire, and established a newspaper, called the People's Advocate, a spirited, able sheet, devoted largely to the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause, in which he had become deeply interested. Being agent of the anti-slavery societies with which he had united, he entered fully into their spirit and objects, and committed himself with great earnestness to the cause of moral and social progress, in lecturing, editing, and writing for various periodicals.

In 1842, he removed to Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, and engaged earnestly and successfully in those early political movements, which resulted in the formation of the Republican party. In 1844 he removed to Williamsburg, Massachusetts, and, yielding to earnest solicitation, became the pastor of the Methodist Church of that place; and continued in that relation with great acceptability and usefulness to the people he served, till May, 1846, when his health failing, and being no longer able to speak in public, he was obliged to abandon the pulpit and, by the advice of physicians, seek the restoration of his health in foreign lands.

He left New York, May, 1846, and, travelling through England, France, Italy, Greece, and Turkey, returning through the Italian provinces of Austria, the Tyrol, Bavaria, Switzerland, the German States of the Rhine and Belgium, he reached home in the early part of 1848. His health was largely restored, and he had an opportunity of studying the greatest works of art, and of mastering more fully the French and Italian languages, —an achievement he greatly desired.

During the summer and autumn of 1848, he edited the Cayuga New Era, published at Auburn, New York,—a periodical of note; and exerted a large influence on the political questions of that day. California was now opening to the enterprise of the American people, and he resolved to remove to that then far-off land. He reached San Francisco, August 18, 1849, being one of the pioneers to that now populous and flourishing city. During the same year, he received the appointment of Juez de Paz, in San Francisco, — an office similar to that of Justice of the Peace, but of much more extended duties, — the duties of which he discharged with great acceptability.

In 1851 he was admitted to the Bar, upon examination by the Supreme Court of the State of California, and entered at once upon the practice of law in San Francisco, in which he continued until his death. As a lawyer, he was very successful, acquiring a large and profitable practice. He was trusted by all parties, and won in his profession the most desirable distinction. He held the office of city and county attorney for civil business in the city and county of San Francisco; and in the discharge of this responsible trust, he showed great ability and fidelity, and his integrity was never called in question. He was a candidate for election on the Republican ticket in California in the Presidential election of 1856; and during the fall of that year and prior to that election, made more than seventy addresses to his fellow-citizens in different parts of the State, upon the grave practical questions at issue in that campaign. These addresses were marked by that powerful argument and forcible eloquence which have given him a reputation with all parties as an orator second to none in the State of his adoption. He was also active in supporting the noted vigilance committee in San Francisco for preserving peace and order, and his influence had much to do in securing the excellent results of that committee.

He was the chairman of the delegation from California to the Chicago convention, of May, 1860, that nominated

Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. He was also one of the committee of five that prepared and reported the platform for the convention, which was adopted.

He was very active in his labors in carrying the State of Pennsylvania for Governor Curtin, and thus prepared the way for the triumph of Lincoln in that State. He now greatly desired to return to his family and home in San Francisco; but business calling him to New York and detaining him for some time, he acceded to the earnest request of the New York State committee to speak throughout that State for the Republican ticket. He commenced the work with his characteristic earnestness; and after speaking every day for a month, addressing crowded assemblies, he reached Lowville, Lewis County, where he was taken sick, largely the result of overwork and exhaustion, and died after a week's illness, October 9, 1860, in the forty-sixth year of his age. His remains were brought to Lynn, Massachusetts, and his funeral took place on the fifteenth of October, from the South-Street Methodist Episcopal church, where he was formerly pastor. In the early part of 1862, his remains were removed, under the auspices of the Odd Fellows and the Masonic fraternities to which he belonged, to San Francisco where his family resided, and interred at Laurel Hill, the family cemetery, after appropriate funeral services, at which the Rev. Mr. Simonds, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, delivered an impressive discourse, in which he sketched with much fulness the character and labors of the deceased. His many friends in San Francisco and the vicinity have united in raising over his grave a monument of great elegance.

As a public speaker, the subject of our sketch possessed superior qualifications. His voice was clear and commanding, his utterance free and easy, his logic forcible and convincing, and his arguments admirably arranged for the presentation of his subject so as to do justice to all concerned, and produce the desired effect on his hearers. His political addresses were remarkable for the presentation of facts and principles; and however much he differed from his opponents, he was candid and just in his statements, resorting to no unwarrantable assertions for effect. These addresses were often attended with convincing power. The readiness with which he comprehended all the parts and bearings of the subject under consideration was remarkable. An instance of this the writer well remembers. Mr. Tracy was a member of the Junior Preachers' Association of the New England Conference, organized in 1835; and at one of its meetings, a member failed to be present who had been appointed to present an essay on a difficult theological subject, and was appointed to take the vacant place at a few hours' notice. He seemed to grasp the entire subject at once with such remarkable clearness, breadth of thought, accurate analysis, and strength of argument, that he greatly pleased and surprised his hearers.

As a writer, he evinced a high order of talent. His pen was employed largely in editorial work, for which he was eminently qualified. In April, 1835, there appeared in Zion's Herald, a weekly paper published in Boston, a Counter Appeal, signed by several of the leading ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New England, against certain sentiments and measures of the Abolitionists. To this he replied a few weeks later; and such was the character of the reply for ability and logical treatment of the subject, that it produced a profound sensation, especially in the Church to which he belonged. In the Methodist Quarterly Review for 1836, he published a Historical View of the Calvinistic Theology in New England; and in the same periodical for 1837, he published a Historical View of Universalism in the United States. On December 22, 1837, he preached a sermon on the death of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, who was shot by a mob for his anti-slavery principles and action, at Alton, Illinois, November 7, 1837. The sermon was published, and received special commendation for its noble, wise, and timely sentiments.

He greatly delighted in antiquarian researches, especially in ancestral genealogy. He had spent much time and labor in preparing a genealogy of the family of Tracy, and had he lived, it would soon have been completed. He was a member of the Connecticut Historical Society, and was admitted to membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, May 17, 1858.

Mr. Tracy was eminently social, and delighted in the society of his friends. In his domestic relations he was true, kind, affectionate, discharging the duties of husband and father with tenderness and fidelity.

The following extract, from his will executed, April 3, 1860, will show his feeling and belief respecting the Christian religion: "I declare, first of all, my firm belief and trust in the Christian religion, in the faith of which I hope for the resurrection of my body and the salvation of my soul, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior."

He married Miss Emily Stone, daughter of Obadiah Stone, of Thompson, Connecticut, January 10, 1837, to whom were born five children: Frederick Augustus Eugene, born July 18, 1838, and died February 23, 1839; Mary Louisa, born December 8, 1839, married John Swett, Esq., of San Francisco, California; Frederick William, born February 9, 1842, died in San Francisco; Grace Emeline, born March 2, 1844, and died March 25, 1857, in San Francisco; and Thomas Garnier, born August 23, 1845, now living in San Francisco.

CHARLES LOWELL

The first American ancestor of the Massachusetts Lowells was Percival Lowell, who, with two sons, John and Richard, left England in 1639 to adopt a new home and country. His eldest son, John, had a son of the same name, born in England, who, by his marriage with Naomi Sylvester, was the father of Ebenezer, born in Boston in 1675. Ebenezer Lowell married Elizabeth Shaler. They were the parents of John Lowell, pastor of the Third Parish in Newbury, which became, on the division of the town, the First Parish in Newburyport. He married Sarah Champney, daughter of Noah and Sarah (Turell) Champney. Their first son died in infancy; the second, John, remained the only child. Mrs. Sarah Champney Lowell died in June, 1756. Mr. Lowell made another marriage. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Cutts, of Kittery, Maine. She had previously been the wife of the Rev. Joseph Whipple, of Hampton Falls, New Hampshire. She had no children of her own, but she brought with her a niece, — the child of her sister and of the brother of her first husband, — Hannah Whipple, who was received as a daughter by Mr. Lowell, and who was a true elder sister to his son. The Rev. John Lowell died on the fifteenth of May, 1767.

His only son, John Lowell, father of Charles Lowell, was born in Newbury on the seventeenth of June, 1743. He entered Harvard College in 1756, and took his first degree in 1760. He had already, before leaving college, chosen the law as his profession. His father had entertained other views for him; but when it appeared that he had made a choice of his own, the parental sanction was not withheld. He studied law in Boston under Oxenbridge Thacher, and was admitted to practice in 1763. He then returned to his native town, where he gave himself with assiduity to the study and practice of his profession. He had early and well-founded success.

In the year 1767 he was called upon to take part in public affairs. At a town meeting, held in December of that year, he was chosen a member of a committee to report upon a letter from the selectmen of Boston concerning the measures to be taken to frustrate the encroachments of Great Britain. The report, drawn up by Mr. Lowell, was accepted at the town meeting held in March, 1768. From this time, as long as he remained in Newburyport, "he is frequently mentioned in the records," Mr. Cushing writes, "wherever any legal adviser was needed, or any agency to be performed requiring legal science."

His character offered a combination of qualities which, with his training and acquirements, fitted him to be a guide in critical times. His conservative disposition and reverence for law did not render him the less, but the more, resolute in resistance to usurpation. An ardent temperament, controlled by a calm judgment, gave him earnestness in the course which reason and conscience had sanctioned. A gentle and conciliatory disposition did not in him prove inconsistent with decision and firmness. His sense of justice and love of right were not for his own people or for his own race alone. In the midst of his multiplied business engagements and his public duties he found time and heart to plead the cause of a black man held as a slave, and to win for him freedom and compensation.

Mr. Lowell was one of the selectmen of Newburyport in the summer of 1774, when that patriotic town signalized itself by its zeal and resolution. In September of that year he was one of a committee appointed to draw up instructions for the guidance of Captain Greenleaf, chosen a representative of Newburyport in the General Court to be held at Salem in October. These instructions, which were of the most uncompromising character, were given to Captain Greenleaf by a unanimous vote of a town meeting held on the third of October. In 1775 he was, as selectman, one of the thirty members of the committee of safety, inspection, and correspondence. In 1776 he was one of the newly-elected committee of fifteen, charged with the same duties. In May, 1776, he was chosen one of the five representatives of Newburyport in the General Court. This election, and the fulfilment of the duties consequent upon its acceptance, closed that portion of his life which is especially connected with Newburyport. He removed to Boston in 1777. This change was for Mr. Lowell not so much the adoption of a new home as a return to the old one. His grandfather and father were born in Boston. His father was married there before his ordination in Newbury. He had himself, while at Harvard, found acquaintances and friends in Boston; he had passed there the three years of his preparation for the law. It was not, therefore, as even personally a stranger that he established himself in the ancestral home.

Mr. Lowell was a representative of Boston in the General Court of 1778. In 1779 he was elected a member of the convention for framing the constitution of the State, — the convention which rendered slavery thenceforward impossible in Massachusetts. In 1781 he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress. In 1782 he was appointed by Congress one of the three judges of the newly-created Admiralty Court of Appeals. In 1784 he was one of the commissioners to establish the boundary line between Massachusetts and New York. On the adoption of the Constitution of the United States he was appointed by Washington Judge of the District Court of Massachusetts. In 1801 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Circuit Court for the first circuit, under the new organization of the judiciary.

Judge Lowell was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; one of the founders of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society; and a member of other important societies. He was for eighteen years a member of the Corporation of Harvard College.

A most interesting sketch of Judge Lowell is found in a letter addressed to his son, Charles Lowell, by the venerated Josiah Quincy: —

It would give me great pleasure to transmit some of my recollections of your father, Judge Lowell. They are of deep feeling and intense respect; and lie in my mind, not in the form of anecdote, or as the result of any peculiar trait of character, but as the general impressions effected by intellectual powers developing themselves through the affections of the heart, which predominated in his life and character. I had known him when I was a young man at the Bar, and remember him while I was at college, wrestling in the court with Parsons and others of like intellectual power, who were regarded as the giants of the law in those days. Your father was equal to any of them in clearness of reasoning and laborious preparation; but surpassed, perhaps, any of them in influence with the court and jury.

The singular eminence of his character for its moral bearing, accompanied by talents unquestionable, and the resulting general confidence in him of the people of the State, probably led Washington to select your father for the first District Judge of Massachusetts.

About this period I commenced the study of the law; and my familiarity with courts for several years succeeding led me to know your father only as an ornament and honor of the Bench, universally approved and — I believe I may truly add — universally beloved.

The excellence of your father's character was always welling out in his life. His aspect, his language, his manners, were unavoidably expressive of *goodness;* and in whatever way he was called upon, even by official duty, this quality, from its fulness in him, never failed to become apparent.

It was not until three or four years before his death that, from the intimacy of my wife with his eldest daughter, I became acquainted with his domestic life, and was permitted to witness the felicity which these qualities, to which I have alluded, shed upon those who were members of his family, and the happiness which it devolved upon any one admitted into it.

Judge Lowell had by his marriage, in 1767, with Sarah Higginson, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth (Cabot) Higginson, three children: Anna Cabot, John, and Sarah Champney. Mrs. Sarah Lowell, his first wife, died in 1772. His second wife, Susanna, daughter of Francis and Mary (Fitch) Cabot, of Salem, died in 1777. His children by this marriage were Francis Cabot and Susanna. After his removal to Boston he married Rebecca, daughter of James and Katharine (Graves) Russell, of Charlestown. He had four children by this marriage,—Rebecca Russell; Charles, the subject of this memoir; Elizabeth Cutts; and Mary, who died young.

Charles Lowell was born on the fifteenth of August, 1782, in a house which stood on the corner of Beacon and Tremont streets. The house has long since disappeared; but the most striking objects in view from its windows still hold their places,—King's Chapel and its churchyard. He was the seventh child and third son of his father. It would hardly be correct to say that he was his mother's second child and only son, for all the children were equally hers. And as her love and care knew no distinction, so there was none in the return they made her. She was to all the object of the same reverent and ardent affection. The eldest son, who was only nine years old when this new mother was bestowed upon him, used in after years to speak with enthusiasm of her beauty, her grace, her loveliness; of the happiness she diffused about her; of the charm with which she invested all her surroundings. He remembered through life the impression she made upon him when he was first presented to her as her son. He described her as she then appeared to him, to one of her grandchildren after he was himself a grandfather. He was summoned from school for this interview. When he entered the room where she was, saw her advancing towards him, and met her loving look, he thought within himself: "If ever an angel appeared upon earth, one has come down now."

The children among themselves knew no differences in their nearness to each other. What consciousness they had that such differences might be recognized by others, seemed only to draw them closer together. Yet this tenacity of a full possession by each of all, involved no oblivion of earlier ties. The families which these ties connected with their own were counted as near kindred by the youngest as well as by the elder children, who adopted, in their turn, those that the last alliance brought them. The Higginsons, the Cabots, the Russells, were the maternal relatives of all.

Charles Lowell was still in early childhood when his father removed from Boston to what was then the beautiful country town of Roxbury. Judge Lowell led here a life entirely congenial to him. The distance from his house to the court-house in Boston, where he had his office, was so short that it caused him no inconvenience. He had a great love of gardening, and found an agreeable recreation, after the important labors of the day, among his flower-beds, his greenhouses, and his orchards. He inherited his father's hospitable disposition, and his house was not only a social centre for the friends and relatives, who of themselves composed a numerous and distinguished circle, it was also the resort of visitors from other parts of his own country and from Europe. Charles Lowell always regarded as among the greatest privileges of his early years that of listening to the conversation of the eminent men who were the guests of his father's house.

He had none but happy recollections of his childhood and youth. The household presided over by his parents was organized upon Christian principles; affection, fidelity, confidence, reigned throughout. It was doubtless due to his own generous, sympathetic nature that the world, from his first entrance into it, dealt so kindly with him; but it may also well be that the qualities which were eminent in him through life were not solely a gift of inheritance, but were fostered and confirmed by this early environment, serene, loyal, and affectionate. Among the figures from the past which he always revived with pleasure was that of his nurse and devoted attendant, "Annie." His affection manifested itself while she lived, and her memory never faded out. In the last months of his life, speaking of his early days to one of his children, he called up the image of this faithful woman as he, a little boy on his way to school, looking back before he turned the corner which was to hide him from her, had seen her stand watching him, her eyes shaded from the sun by her hand.

His mother felt a responsibility for the mental and spiritual welfare of those who were dependent upon her, as well as for their material comfort. She kept up the old-fashioned custom of reading aloud to her women for a certain time every day while they sat about her with their needlework. Among her women were two of dark race, who had their full part in the family life, and added to its interest. One of them was constant to the ideas of her native country in regard to the character of household service. She was very reluctant to receive wages; feeling that this separated her from the family of which she considered herself a part. She was obliged to submit to authority on this point; but it was not without lively and pathetic remonstrance. She consoled herself with saving up the gold pieces, in which she was always paid, in the hope of their being some day useful to those she loved. When the eldest son — whom she always especially distinguished — went to college, she thought the time had arrived. Her shining hoard would surely make a useful addition to his pocket-money on his entrance into the great world. She was astonished as well as grieved when she found that he could not adopt her view. The other tropical inmate, Phillida, had constituted herself the household bard. She chronicled in verse every incident of importance; and these bulletins were a source of pleasure and amusement to all the family, and especially to the children, who at a distance of half a century could still repeat some of them almost entire. When the young Charles left home and the day-school to follow more serious studies at the Academy, Phillida kept him provided not only with cakes of her own baking, but also with a history in rhyme of all that happened in the home which would have most interested him if he had been there to take his share in it.

He received his first scholastic instruction at the grammar school in Roxbury, then under the charge of Mr. Emerson, afterwards pastor of the First Church in Boston. He began his preparation for Harvard College at Phillips Academy, in Andover. A reminiscence of his school-boy life there, which he recalled with amusement and pleasure, is not without interest. A black man, who supplied the boys with apples and cakes, always selected young Lowell's purchases with peculiar care, out of gratitude to his father, who was "the friend of the blacks."

Charles Lowell completed his preparatory studies under the care of the Rev. Mr. Sanger, of South Bridgewater, and entered Harvard College, as a member of the sophomore class, in 1797. His life at Harvard was pleasant in passing, and pleasant in retrospect. He found there congenial companions, and formed enduring attachments. Among his classmates were Allston, Buckminster, — already dedicated to the Christian ministry, — and Shaw, the future Chief Justice.

Of his affection for Allston and early faith in his genius, an evidence exists in a sheet of paper on which the pencil of the future artist had playfully exercised itself in the recitation-room. It was rescued from destruction by Lowell, who, twenty years after, gave it, as a treasure, to one of his children. Among those with whom he was most intimate was John Henry Tudor, the first of their number to be withdrawn by death; George Meserve Sheafe, who was also early called away; Loammi Baldwin, who became a distinguished engineer, and whom he always held in high esteem.

He took his degree on the sixteenth of July, 1800. His share in the exercises of commencement-day was a part in an "English Conference upon the Character of Epaminondas, Fabius, Alfred, and Washington." He had Washington for his subject. He spoke of his hero with an enthusiasm and veneration which were consonant with the spirit of the time; for the death of Washington was then recent. In him it was no passing sentiment: this name never lost its sacredness for him; he never, through life, pronounced it but in a tone of reverence.

The time had now come for making choice of a profession. His own wishes had early inclined him to the ministry of the gospel; but in compliance with his father's earnest desire that he should at least make trial of the law, he entered the office of his elder brother, who was already eminent in that profession, and who was desirous of relinquishing a portion of his practice. He studied law under his brother for nearly a year. His views underwent no change; but the time thus spent was not wasted. His mind was disciplined and his judgment formed by the studies he pursued; while the acquaintance with secular affairs which he thus acquired, aided to make him in after years the wise counsellor he proved when appealed to for advice in matters of every-day life. It is not improbable that the strength and firmness which were so remarkable in a man of his gentle and tender nature, were in part due to the training he had received in his brother's office, and to the knowledge of men and of the wider world which he there obtained.

When it appeared that the young man did not waver in his purpose, but that his desire to enter the sacred profession was the result of a true vocation, from which no prospect of worldly success could detach him, it met with no opposition. His wish to begin, without more delay, his preparation for the ministry was approved by his parents; and their consent was given to a project he had formed of continuing and completing his studies at Edinburgh.

Mr. Lowell's choice in marriage was very early determined. It was one of the consequences of the Rev. John Lowell's second marriage, and of the entrance into the family of Mrs. Elizabeth Lowell's niece as his adopted daughter and the sister of his son. Hannah Whipple was the daughter of William and Mary (Cutts) Whipple, of Kittery. She married Dr. Joshua Brackett, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire,—an eminent physician, and a man of great social and political influence. Like her brother, General Whipple,—one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence,—she was ardently patriotic. Her only sister, Mary, married Robert Traill from Orkney. He remained a British subject, and left the country in November, 1775. Their daughter, Mary Traill, married Keith Spence, from Orkney, who, a merchant in Portsmouth, remained there, a citizen of his new country. Mrs. Traill was the only one of the children of William Whipple who had children that passed the age of infancy. Mrs. Spence was therefore an object of great interest to

Dr. and Mrs. Brackett. Her children were very dear to them, especially the little Harriet, who had received the middle name of Brackett, and who from her infancy was remarkable for grace and charm. Mrs. Elizabeth Lowell left Newburyport when her son no longer lived there, and made her home in Portsmouth. Having near relatives in common, the children, Charles Lowell and Harriet Spence, grew up regarding each other as cousins. Passages in family letters show that the progress of their youthful friendship was not unmarked, and that its future was already divined by others, even before, perhaps, it was foreseen by themselves. In January, 1802, in anticipation of Charles Lowell's approaching voyage and long absence, they pledged their faith to each other, looking forward to an engagement of five years. But before the time of his intended departure arrived, a great and sudden calamity fell upon the home he was about to leave, bringing a change in the life of all its members, and arresting every plan. Judge Lowell died on the sixth of May, 1802.

The deferred voyage took place in the autumn of that year.

Charles Lowell found, in Edinburgh, the advantages he had promised himself. He had great satisfaction in the means of instruction opened to him, and great enjoyment in the intellectual and cultivated society into which he was received. Dr. Hunter was professor of divinity in the University when he was there; Dr. Meiklejohn professor of Church history; and Dr. Moodie of Hebrew. The professor of moral philosophy at that time was Dugald Stewart, for whom he had a great admiration. He brought a letter of introduction from Dr. Currie, of Liverpool, to Mr. Stewart, who gave him a cordial welcome, and showed him a continued kindness, which added much to the happiness of his life in Edinburgh. In addition to his general studies and those especially required by his profession, he followed the courses of Dr. Hope in chemistry, and of Dr. Alexander Monro in anatomy.

The years he passed in Edinburgh left with him a fund of recollections which were always a source of pleasure to him. Among his most intimate friends there, was Dr. Brown, afterwards the colleague of Dugald Stewart. With him, as with some other friends in Scotland, he maintained a correspondence after his return home. He gave himself to his studies with the earnestness which characterized him.

In the summer of 1803 he took a journey on foot through the Highlands, where he met with great hospitality, and made acquaintances who became friends. In the autumn of that year he had news of the arrival at Liverpool of his eldest brother, Mr. John Lowell. They arranged by letter a plan for meeting and travelling together the following year. Mr. John Lowell, writing to their mother the next spring, says: "We are expecting Charles this week. He is in fine health and spirits, and much beloved and respected at Edinburgh, — so a friend of mine lately from that place tells me. You can judge of the delight it gives me."

The brothers met accordingly in London, and made a tour through the greater part of England and Wales. They then went over to the Continent and visited Holland, France, and Switzerland. The Paris of that time gave them much to remember. They saw the masterpieces of Italian art, then collected in the galleries of the Louvre; they witnessed the first public appearance of Napoleon as Emperor. In London Charles Lowell saw a man more interesting to him, — William Wilberforce, to whom he had a letter of introduction from the Earl of Buchan. He was received with great kindness by Mr. Wilberforce, through whom he had an opportunity of listening to Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan in the House of Commons.

He returned from Europe in the summer of 1805.

Soon after his arrival in Boston he received and accepted an invitation to preach at the West Church. The day on which he was first introduced as a stranger to the parish with which he was afterwards to be so intimately connected, impressed itself vividly on his memory. Speaking of it to his people after a ministry of forty years, he says: —

> I well remember the day, and something, it may be, of my emotions, as I ascended the green eminence on which the church stood, by one of the many paths which in seventy years had been marked out by the footsteps of the worshippers, who had gone up in company to the house of God. I had just returned from pursuing my studies abroad. It was the place of my nativity to which I had returned; but in this parish I was an entire stranger. I had probably had intercourse only with the officer of the church who was employed to ask for my services.
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> It was in a small wooden edifice — occupying, indeed, the spot on which we are now assembled, but then standing almost alone in the outskirts of the town, with few buildings between the church and the river — that I preached my first sermon here. It had much the aspect, as far as I now remember, of a country church within and without; with a few houses in its neighborhood, and others scattered here and there in the fields, in what was then called "New Boston."
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> It was to a parish consisting, I think, of about forty proprietors, and less than a hundred families, that this sermon was preached.
>
> Yet it was a parish to whom at my ordination it was said, "Your history has been illustrious, and we honor you whilst we venerate your pastors."

The text of this first sermon was: "Rejoice in the Lord alway: and again I say, Rejoice." The sermon concluded thus: "Rejoice in the Lord *alway*, — in joy and in sorrow, in prosperity and adversity, in riches and poverty, in health and sickness, in life and death." In these words was his confession of faith, — a faith living and practical, revealed and inculcated through all his after years by his example, as well as by his admonitions.

He preached at Charlestown and at several other places during the summer.

On the twentieth of September he received a letter from the West Boston Society requesting him to appoint a time and place for receiving a committee instructed to confer with him "on a matter of the first importance." The meeting took place the next day at the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Gardner, in Summer Street. The purpose of the committee was to inform Mr. Lowell that the West Boston Society, by a unanimous vote of the church and the proprietors, at a meeting held on the twentieth of that month, invited him to preach four Sundays as a candidate for the pastorship of that society. Mr. Lowell accepted the invitation; and after the fulfilment of an engagement he had already made to preach at Springfield, preached three successive Sundays in the West Boston meeting-house.

On the day after the third Sunday — Monday, November the eleventh — a meeting of the church and proprietors was held, at which it was unanimously voted that, the purpose of the society in requesting Mr. Charles Lowell to preach four Sundays as a candidate having been fully accomplished by the three Sabbaths he had preached for them, the church and proprietors now come to the choice, by ballot, of a pastor. The committee appointed to count the votes reported that Mr. Charles Lowell was unanimously chosen. A committee was appointed to present him with a copy of the vote. Mr. Lowell, in his letter of acceptance, expresses his gratitude to the society, and his deep sense of the importance and solemnity of the office to which they have called him. The kindness they have already shown him encourages him to confide in their indulgence, in their readiness to lighten his burdens and assist his efforts. "Above all," he says in conclusion, "I place a humble, yet firm reliance on the aid of the Holy Spirit and on that gracious promise of our Saviour: 'Lo, I am with you even unto the end of the world.'"

The first of January, 1806, was appointed as the day of the ordination. It opened under the brightest auspices. The pastor that day ordained, looking back to it from a distance of fifty years, recalled with pleasure that it was "a day without a cloud," and that it was regarded as the harbinger of a peaceful and happy union. He could say, at the close of half a century, that the augury had been fulfilled, and that his had indeed been "a ministry without a cloud."

The parish of which Mr. Lowell had become the pastor increased rapidly after his ordination. It was soon evident that the old house of worship, no longer able to contain it, must yield the ground to a successor. The order for its demolition was carried into effect in the first days of March, 1806. Its disappearance must have awakened in many of those who had worshipped there, regrets similar to those of the young pastor, who, long after, thus recorded his emotions of that time: —

> Within less than a year after my first sermon here was preached, the old church, consecrated by so many prayers, and hallowed by so many sacred recollections, was taken down, and the church in which we now worship erected in its place. Dear to my remembrance is that modest structure, associated with my first consecration to the service of God in his Church, and with the memory of those who gave me so united and earnest a welcome to that service. Fain, if it might have been so, would I have still retained it, and preached my last sermon where I preached the first.

On the day of assembling to take leave of the old church, Mr. Lowell, after offering a tribute of respect and regret to the venerated walls, spoke of the destination of the new house of worship which was to succeed it on that consecrated spot: —

> It is designed for the use of Congregationalists; but it is to stand on the broad ground of Christian catholicism, extending

the hand of Christian fellowship to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. Built, as we humbly trust it will be, on the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone, in him may the building, fitly framed together, grow up into a holy temple of the Lord.

Mr. Lowell's marriage took place on the second of October, 1806.

The first services were held in the new house of worship on Thanksgiving Day, the twenty-seventh of November, 1806. The text of the sermon was from the hundredth Psalm: "Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise. For the Lord is good; his mercy is everlasting; and his truth endureth unto all generations."

The West Boston Society now contained about three hundred families, with all of whom Mr. Lowell had very soon become personally acquainted. He believed in the importance of the private ministrations of the Christian pastor, and thought that he was called upon to teach not only publicly, but from house to house. His people entered warmly into his views; and he found in the exercise of his office a happiness unfailing as his zeal and devotion. He had an especial solicitude for the children, watching over and promoting the expansion of mind and heart. They, with the quick discernment of childhood, felt the genuineness of his affection, and trusted in it. If they met him in the street, they ran up to him, sure of glad recognition. As they grew older, the habit of confidence remained, and they came to him, without fear, for sympathy and guidance.

His cares and services were not confined to the parish which had called him to instruct and confirm them in their duties and guide them to higher attainment; he was also the minister of those who belonged to no parish, and even to no home, — of those who had lived without aspiration, and were dying without hope. In the neighborhood of this new region which contained his church, and on which handsome habitations were rising for happy households, was a forlorn district, the refuge of the friendless and the lawless; it could not but attract his attention and his sympathy. There was at that time in Boston no ministry-at-large, whose duty it was to seek out the lost. This office devolved upon him. "Necessity was laid upon me," he said many years after, speaking of that time. Demands upon him multiplied rapidly. The report of his ministrations extended to other parts of the city. The gentleness of his address, his unfailing courtesy, dispelled that repugnance which the fallen so often have to the visits of those who condescend to them. He carried with him no sense of superiority in himself; but, as the minister and messenger of Christ, he spoke with the authority which awakens confidence, and not rebellion. The most shamestruck did not fear to meet the look of those benignant eyes; there was hope in the very tones of that reassuring voice. The scenes through which he had to pass often caused him great, and sometimes unrequited, pain. But the occasions were not few when he was more than rewarded by the inward voice: "This thy brother was dead, and is alive again; was lost, and is found." There were also discovered in these haunts of misery those whom poverty alone had driven there, and who had kept themselves unspotted from the evil world about them. To such as these he could minister with entire gladness of heart, in fulfilment of the words of his Master: "The poor have the gospel preached to them." These claims upon his willing services came by night as well as by day; not seldom, driving storms of snow, sleet, or rain made yet darker and more dismal the narrow lanes and dim passages through which he must grope his way to the bedside of the dying. Nor was it by the poor and friendless alone that these offices of piety and charity were required. Those who had lost their early faith and found nothing to replace it, when, in sickness or sorrow, they felt the need of more than earthly aid, sent for one who they believed could teach them how to seek it.

No nearer duties and occupations had been abridged to make room for these external claims; and under the pressure of this added work, involving such a strain on the feelings, and often attended by so much fatigue and exposure, his health gave signs of failure. He seemed himself to take no account of this danger, making no complaint of illness even in his own family. But his people remarked with concern a change in his appearance, a fading of the healthy glow upon his cheek. They requested his friend and kinsman, Dr. Jackson, to call on him and ascertain the condition of his health. The result of this interview was the prescription of immediate rest and change of air. A voyage and a southern climate were recommended. In three days after this advice was given Mr. Lowell embarked for Baltimore.

He returned from his Southern tour refreshed and invigorated; but it was necessary to provide against future dangers. His friends advised him to make his home in the country. A house presented itself in every way desirable. It was commodious; had pleasant grounds, with noble trees. It was in Cambridge, at a convenient distance from Boston. It became his home in 1818.

He was thenceforth in a great measure exempt from the sudden, imperative calls which, though coming from outside his own proper charge, he would have found it difficult to resist. His devotion to his own parishioners was unabated. His visits to them were as frequent as before. He had an office in Boston, where letters and messages were received, and where it was his custom to pass some hours of the day.

Mr. Lowell's relations with his people were from the first those of entire affection and confidence. These ties were only strengthened by time. As years went on, his parish became to him really only an extension of his own family.

> We could all go to him, — Mr. Joseph Willard says, — in sorrow as in joy, in prosperous or adverse condition; and we could see how soon and how easily he would be imbued with our own predominant feeling, and direct it in holy and trusting acknowledgment whence all right feeling should flow, and whither again it should tend. While from some instructors, kindly intended and excellent words might fall as icy truth, when welling up from his heart they were so genial, and gushed out with such warmth, that we readily accepted them. They never seemed obtruded, but came out naturally, and as if it were his right. Submission to such a nature showed the power of that nature, which at the same time claimed nothing for itself.

What he was as a preacher may also be told in the words of Mr. Willard: —

> In the pulpit his presence was a silent invocation to prayer and praise. His mild, but brilliant and searching eye; his voice, rich, deep, penetrating, and full, — the great gift of but few; his earnestness of manner, the solemn reality of his religious convictions, — all combined to carry his own convictions to the hearts of his hearers.
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> Hence he was a highly popular preacher — not that he sought popularity, he was too sincere, too devout, too just in his own personal estimate, for that; but it was that popularity, that loving regard, which came as a spontaneous offering, — it must come. Every pulpit welcomed him.
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> He was a favorite and much-sought preacher in this whole community, — says Dr. Bartol, — and, as I understand, at the neighboring college. He reached both the common and the studious mind with the directness and warmth of his exhortations.

Mr. Charles Greeley Loring has spoken of "his preeminent qualifications in person, mind, and heart for the pastoral office; of the depth of his magnetic sympathy, interweaving the chords of all hearts with those of his own; of his fervor in prayer, lifting us as on the wings of inspiration; of his impressive reading of the hymns, as if improvised utterances of his own spirit; of the apostolic simplicity, earnestness, and directness of his sermons, as coming from one ordained to win souls to heaven."

The depth and fervor of his faith in the Scriptures gave to his reading of them almost the force of a new revelation. From his mouth the psalmist and the prophets seemed to the listener to be heard, or at least to be apprehended, for the first time. When he gave forth the words of the Saviour, it was as if the beloved disciple repeated them after his Master. And as the passages most frequently cited by him never to himself became trite through repetition, so for his congregation they never lost their sacred spell. Rather it was with them as with an exquisite strain of music, — the more familiar, the more delightful. There was in the piety of Charles Lowell nothing of sanctimony. His look when he spoke of divine things was reverent, but radiant. He felt himself commissioned to preach the kingdom of God, — the kingdom of peace and joy. There was never anything formal in his piety, or in the expression of it. As the mercies of God are every morning new, so was his gratitude for them, and his zeal in the divine service. Nothing with him passed into the stage of routine.

The baptismal rite was administered by him with such an earnest devotion and tenderness as if this present infant soul was the first he had dedicated to Heaven, these parents the first who had pledged themselves to their highest duties through him. In his performance of the marriage service there was a solemnity, a serious sympathy, which made all present feel that the contract they had witnessed was indeed a sacrament. In the funeral service, such was his sense of the anguish which follows the rending of close human ties, such the sincerity and fervor of his petition for divine solace to the mourner, that it seemed he drew down an inspiration from above, through which the prayer itself was made the instrument of its own fulfilment.

He was in every relation, public and private, absolutely sincere. He taught nothing which he did not entirely and earnestly believe. This gave to his preaching that force of inward conviction which is of more avail than any skill of argument or happiness of illustration. Ardently patriotic, his love for his country, his State, his native town, and his just pride in them, never led him to turn away his eyes from what he could not praise, or to speak peace when there was no peace. Tender as he was of the feelings of others, he never spared the salutary pain. He could say to his people, after fifty years of ministry: "I have kept back nothing that I thought profitable to you; and you have not deemed me your enemy because I have told you the truth." The truth, spoken in love, as it was by him, was received as a medicine, and even as a balm.

There existed in his parish upon doctrinal points diversities of opinion and belief. He did not attempt, and did not desire, to bring about uniformity of creed. He was a firm upholder of the right of private judgment. He inculcated the reading and study of the Scriptures, and believed that men were accountable to God alone for their fidelity in the search after and the acceptance of truth. In the case of children, he would not have the work of their own reason and conscience forestalled; he would have them early familiar with the teachings of Christ, and left free to receive their own impressions and to form their own convictions. He held that what was essential had been distinctly revealed and explicitly taught; that in regard to what had not been thus definitely made clear, differences of opinion were not only allowable, but inevitable. He observed, and recommended to those about to enter upon the pastoral office, a great delicacy in regard to such differences.

Ministers should be very careful, — he says in one of his ordination sermons, — how they repress inquiry, or give a bias to the judgment in the search after truth. It is well, — nay, it is essential, — that the faith of their people should be their own faith, and not the faith of their minister. They may innocently differ from him, and he may innocently differ from them. It is only important that they should be united in the belief of those truths which are clearly revealed, and in the practice of the duties which those truths impose.

He objected strongly to the use of the word "religious," as applied to controversies and disputes in the Christian world, and would substitute "theological."

Religion, — he said, — has never been the cause of division in the church, and never can be. It was this which was announced with the proclamation of peace on earth and good-will towards men; and it was this which was breathed in the parting accents of the Saviour: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you."

There is not, has not been, and never can be, any controversy among Christians about religion. In this they are and must be agreed. Religion, in its primitive sense, implies a bond of union; it binds us to God and to one another. When exercised towards God it is piety, and prompts to all the duties which piety includes. When exercised towards man, it is justice and benevolence, and prompts to all the duties which these include.

He made a distinction between theology strictly so called, — "the theology which relates to the being and attributes of God, and which may be considered as a part of religion itself" — and "speculative theology," which he regarded as the chief source of the divisions in the Christian world. He did not condemn the pursuit of speculative theology, nor the discussions to which it gave rise, if these were conducted with kindness and candor; but he could not see, without regret, time and labor bestowed upon it which were needed for the presentation and enforcement of the plain and practical teachings of the gospel: —

We assemble ordinarily but one day in seven in the house of God. We are then engaged but a few hours in its services; and it is worse than useless to employ any portion of that time on points of doubtful disputation, or in speculations on subjects which, after all our investigation, are far, far beyond our reach.

To promote holiness is the end of the Christian ministry, and should be the great object of the labors of the Christian minister.

However important may be theology as an instrument, as the means of promoting religion, it is not our theology, but our religion, that will save us, — the religion of the heart. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness."

Although he took no part in the controversies of his time, it is not to be inferred that he was inattentive or indifferent to what was passing in the theological world. He considered it his province to be informed, and to be prepared to inform those who brought their inquiries to him.

He had by nature a love of study and investigation, and would have found pleasure in giving more time to purely intellectual pursuits, if his other duties had permitted. He was, indeed, more of a student than was generally known. He was a very industrious man. He had need to be so to satisfy in any degree his own demands upon himself. But he valued the acquisition of knowledge only as a means of usefulness. What he considered the requisites of his profession in this respect is to be learned from one of his ordination sermons. The text is: "Not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts." After treating of the first essential conditions of acceptance by God, — goodness of life and piety of heart, — he proceeds: —

Nor are Christian graces the only qualifications which will render a minister acceptable to God. If his heart must be impressed with piety, his mind must be informed by knowledge. It is not every good man who will be a good minister. It is not every one who feels the truths of religion that is qualified to teach them. Much preparation of mind is requisite for the discharge of the duties of the sacred office. Much knowledge must be acquired, both human and divine.

A minister must give himself to reading, meditation, and prayer. He must study the Bible, — the great storehouse of Christian knowledge, the true standard of Christian orthodoxy, and the only rule of Christian duty ; and he must bring to the study of it, — if it be possible, — a candid, unprejudiced, unbiassed mind, and, as far as practicable, all the learning which will tend to elucidate its history, to strengthen its evidence, and explain its doctrines.

A minister who is ignorant of his Bible and of theology is but ill qualified to oppose the cavils of the sceptic, to resist the weapons of the controversialist, or to resolve the doubts and difficulties of the anxious inquirer after truth.

The conditions he laid down, it is very certain he did his utmost to fulfil. The evidence was seen and felt in him. The rule, " by their fruits ye shall know them," is nowhere more applicable than here: where there is wisdom, there is knowledge ; where there is knowledge, there has been work.

Dr. Bartol, in his admirable characterization of Charles Lowell, after speaking of him as peculiarly a man of the affections, portrays the man of intellect and personal power as he was known in private conference, in deliberative meetings, in friendly consultation, or in social converse : —

He had, unquestionably, pre-eminent vigor of mind. In good judgment of great questions he was unexcelled. His wisdom was an oracle to trust and resort to. He had surpassing gifts of clearness of conception and force of expression. No one could help feeling the weight and pressure of his opinion on any subject. You could not be in the room with him and not be sensible of something predominant. His speech filled the ear with no less emphasis than music. So tonic and bracing were his utterance, aspect, and gesture, that I have sometimes thought there must be an unusual amount of iron in his blood, as well as firmness in his soul. There was in him no more of malleable softness than of immovable will; for his vision of what he saw was as keen as his regard to those whom he knew was tender. He seemed to wear invisibly from the anointing hand of God the likeness of a kingly crown.

After thirty years of devoted ministry, Dr. Lowell felt the need of aid in his work, and of an interval of rest. He made known to his parish his desire to have associated with him a colleague who would assume a part of his charge, and whose presence with them would permit him to find restoration of his exhausted strength in rest and change of climate. They elected the Rev. Cyrus Bartol, — a choice which was a source of great and unmingled happiness to the senior pastor. Their united ministry was "without a cloud." The Rev. Mr. Bartol was ordained on the first of March, 1837.

On Tuesday, the thirtieth of May, 1837, Dr. Lowell, with Mrs. Lowell and their eldest daughter, sailed from New York for Europe in the packet ship "Sheridan." They landed in England on Friday, the twenty-third of June, and spent the first Sunday after their arrival in Liverpool.

After a visit to Chester, they passed through the beautiful scenery of North Wales to Holyhead, where they embarked for Ireland. In Dublin Dr. Lowell found an old friend and Edinburgh fellow-student in Dr. Armstrong, by whom he was "most affectionately welcomed," and whom he had the satisfaction of finding "a minister in high estimation." After visiting the Lakes of Killarney, the travellers returned, through Cork, Tipperary, and Kilkenny, to Dublin. They then journeyed northward, and after spending a little time very agreeably at Belfast, crossed over to Scotland. Their visit to Edinburgh was full of interest. Dr. Lowell found there old friends and fellow-students, with whom he renewed the ties of former days. Among those who gave him a cordial welcome were Dr. Lee, afterwards Principal of the

University, and Dr. Thomas Stewart Traill, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, — "a learned, most agreeable, and most excellent man," Dr. Lowell writes. Dr. Traill was Mrs. Lowell's second cousin on her father's, and related to her on her mother's, side. It happened that there were then in Edinburgh, on some special occasion, a number of Traills from Orkney; and Dr. Traill invited them all to meet their foreign relatives at dinner.

A visit to Orkney had been planned by the travellers, and they now made it under very pleasant circumstances. The steamboat in which they took passage for Kirkwall carried likewise a large party of relatives with whom they had already made acquaintance. They had learned in Edinburgh that the only hotel was the house which had formerly been the winter home of the Traills of Westness; — the branch of the family to which Mrs. Lowell's grandfather belonged. This house was the scene of an interesting incident. Mrs. Lowell's only cousin-german, Mr. George Colebrooke Traill, who had passed a great part of his life in India, had just arrived in the home of his ancestors; and thus the two so nearly related, but hitherto so widely separated, found themselves at the same time, drawn by the same motives, within walls familiar through tradition to them both. Mr. Traill joined their party, and made with them some interesting excursions. They passed a day and night at Westness, the ancestral estate, on the Island of Rousay, in the hospitable house of Mrs. Lowell's second cousin, Mr. Traill of Westness and Woodwick. They found in Kirkwall many relatives of Mrs. Lowell, who gave them an affectionate welcome. From a second cousin on her father's side, Miss Ann Mackenzie, they heard some interesting particulars in regard to his mother, and to his brother, Mr. Graeme Spence, a man of science, distinguished as a nautical surveyor. Miss Mackenzie spoke of him as "the best man in the world." They left

Orkney for Aberdeen on the second of August, taking a regretful leave of the kind friends and kinsfolk, whom they felt they were never to see again. They passed several weeks in travelling through the Highlands, and then returned to Edinburgh for a second and longer visit.

A very pleasant incident of Dr. Lowell's travels in Scotland was his unexpected meeting with his old friend and fellow-student, Sir David Brewster, in the churchyard at Melrose.

In October we find them in England. On the tenth of that month they were at Keswick, where they had the pleasure of seeing Southey, with whom Dr. Lowell, as secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, had been in correspondence. He received them very warmly, and conversed with great animation on a variety of subjects, — theological, historical, political, and literary. He read to them, "with great feeling, some passages from an unfinished poem, the scene of which was laid in America. The passages he read were a description of the harbor of Boston, and of the scenery about our city; and an apostrophe of Leverett regarding the future of our country." Dr. Lowell referred to the mention made of Mrs. Lowell's uncle, Mr. Graeme Spence, in Southey's Life of Nelson. Mr. Southey took down the volume and read the account of Nelson's return in the "Medusa" from reconnoitring Boulogne, in 1801, when an invasion from France was apprehended in England. He had anchored off Harwich, and was desirous of proceeding to the Nore; but the violence of the wind made this impossible by the usual channel; no pilot would undertake the charge of the ship. Nelson applied to the maritime surveyor, Mr. Spence, who carried him safely through by a new passage. "When we left Mr. Southey," Miss Lowell wrote, "we felt as if we were parting from an old friend."

They arrived in London, where they were to pass the winter, in time to see the entry of the young Queen into the City on her way to the banquet at the Guildhall. Dr. Lowell was present at very interesting debates in the House of Commons, where he heard Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Mr. Hume, Mr. Grote, Mr. Gladstone, and others, speak on the affairs of Canada. He heard Mr. Roebuck speak at the bar of the House as agent for the Assembly of Lower Canada. In the House of Lords he heard the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, Lord Melbourne, and other distinguished speakers. He attended the meetings of scientific and other societies. He mentions in one of his letters a visit to the Hyde, the seat of Mr. John Disney, near Ingatestone, Essex. He had been invited by Mr. Disney to pass a day and a night there, in order to look over some papers of Hollis, the benefactor of Harvard. These papers were afterwards sent, through Dr. Lowell, to the Massachusetts Historical Society. He saw at the Hyde two pine-trees which had been planted by John Adams and Mrs. Adams when they were on a visit to Mr. Brand-Hollis. Mrs. Adams refers to the planting of these trees in a letter written in 1788 to Mr. Brand-Hollis.

They left England with the pleasantest impressions of English kindness and hospitality.

Entering France by the way of Boulogne, they arrived in Paris on the fifteenth of April, and left it on the twenty-fourth of May. Their time was fully occupied; for they had many friends there, and were "diligent sight-seers," Dr. Lowell wrote,—"at least as far as objects of art were concerned." Leaving France, they travelled through Belgium and Holland, enjoying the various objects of interest, and especially the galleries of paintings, public and private. They visited Hamburg and Lübeck, and at Travemünde embarked for Copenhagen. Here Dr. Lowell did not find himself a stranger. He was a member of the Society of Northern Antiquaries, and had been in correspondence with its secretary, Professor Rafn, the distinguished archæologist, who in his turn was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and who received him as an old friend. They all had great pleasure in seeing, under the guidance of its guardian, the zealous antiquary, Mr. Thomsen, the remarkable and well-arranged collections in the Royal Museum.

They made an interesting tour in Norway; then visited Sweden; embarked at Ystad for Greifswald, in Prussia; travelled in Germany and Switzerland; entered Italy by the pass of the Simplon, and arrived in Milan early in October, 1838. They passed six months in Italy; gave a month to Sicily; and then left it for Malta, on the way to Greece. Their visit to Athens was most interesting, the past and the present making equal claims; the one through memory and gratitude, the other through sympathy and hope.

At Constantinople they saw the Sultan Mahmoud borne on the Bosphorus to his last resting-place, attended by a train of funeral barges; and witnessed, in the first public appearance of his successor, Abdul Medjid, a truly Oriental pageant. "Only some of the descriptions of Eastern splendor in the Arabian Nights," they wrote, "can give an idea of the magnificence of the procession."

They left Constantinople for Smyrna, looking forward to Palestine. Dr. Lowell gave his people, after his return to Boston, a sketch of his journey through this country, where every name awakened thrilling associations, every step was on sacred ground: —

> The visions of childhood, the fond, but faint anticipations of mature life, have been realized. I have seen Jerusalem and all the hallowed spots around it; and as I remembered what eyes had gazed on that scene, what feet had trod that sacred soil, what lips had uttered there the words of peace and consolation, how was I overpowered by the emotions! What a crowd of holy recollections thronged upon my mind!

We had visited the scenes most rich in classic and historic lore. The plain of Marathon, the groves of Academus, Corinth, the fields of Troy, the Hellespont, Constantinople, — queen of the East, — Rhodes, and Cyprus had passed under our view. We had stood in the Forum at Rome, in the Acropolis at Athens, and, above all, on Mars Hill. But what was all this compared to the scene on which we were now permitted to look?

> "Those holy fields
> Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
> Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed
> For our advantage on the bitter cross."

They embarked at Beyrout for Alexandria, visited Cairo, went up the Nile; returning to Alexandria, embarked for Athens, where they had a second visit of a few days, while they waited for the steamer which was to take them to Trieste. They made a visit to Vienna, then passed over to Venice, which they had not seen on their first visit to Italy; went from Venice through Bologna to Florence; saw Genoa once more; and then, travelling northward, took the road to Paris. After some weeks there they made a last visit to England, and returned to their own country in the summer of 1840. Dr. Lowell preached on the occasion of his return a very interesting sermon, which had for its text: "I dwell among my own people."

In the summer of 1845, when forty years had passed since his first introduction to the society which was to hold so large a place in his life, he made a review of his ministry, taking for his text: "Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee, these forty years." In this discourse he re-affirmed the principles he held on his first entrance into the sacred office, and by which he had been constantly governed. The following passage from the appendix to this sermon shows how faithfully were carried into effect the views and intentions he expressed when, standing for the last time in the old house of worship, he traced the future of that which was to replace it and to continue its tradition: —

The minister of the West Church (now the senior minister) is a Congregationalist as it respects the outworks of the house of God, but belongs to no sect as it regards the doctrines of theology, nor has any exclusiveness as it regards his Congregationalism. The Quaker, the Presbyterian, the Protestant Episcopalian, the Baptist, and the Methodist Episcopalian have all preached in this pulpit; and all except the first in the usual Sabbath exercises. It is among the pleasant recollections of his ministry that it has been so. He certainly differs from his Unitarian brethren, as well as from others, on some important points, — to him, at least, important; but he admits in them the right of private judgment which he claims for himself, and he has esteemed himself favored in having had an affectionate intercourse of so many years with such good men and faithful, devoted ministers. He belongs neither to the Pastoral Association (Calvinistic), nor to the Unitarian Association; but he wishes well to both, in as far as they are adapted to promote the glory of God and the interests of pure and undefiled religion.

On the thirtieth of March, 1850, his beloved wife was taken from him by death.

In the autumn of 1851 Dr. Lowell was struck down by paralysis. His life was for some time in danger. When he was sufficiently restored to take account of his condition, it was to learn that his life as it had been — his energetic, laborious, beneficent life — was closed. He whose happiness had been in serving others must resign himself to an inactive, dependent existence. He was thenceforth never to know entire exemption from pain, and was subject, at intervals, to acute suffering. But the inward life was sustained from invisible sources. In the seclusion of pain and weakness he could still repeat with fervor: "In the multitude of my thoughts within me, Thy comforts delight my soul." When his friends were first admitted to see him, "he recounted," as one of them relates, "all the blessings and privileges, instead of the pains and privations, of his illness." His strong heart and firm will enabled him to accept every attainable alleviation. As the gradual restoration of strength permitted, he gave himself regular occupation. He maintained his interest in public affairs and in whatever concerned the future of his country and of humanity. Although he could no longer visit his parishioners, he received them at his house. He was always desirous of having news of them, their children, and grandchildren.

It was his custom to address a letter to his people every year on the first of January, — the anniversary of his ordination. The last communication from him was read to them by Dr. Bartol on the first Sunday of January, 1861. It might seem that the summons to depart would have been waited for as the signal of release by one trammelled, enfeebled, and subject to constant suffering, as he was. But so entire was his acceptance of what was ordained for him, so warm were still his earthly affections, so strong the interest he felt in all that concerned those who were dear to him, that he may be said to have found enjoyment in life down to its latest day. In this last letter he can still say to his people: "I desire to bow with deep humility and fervent thankfulness before God, who has given me strength, amidst much weakness, to continue to this day." There almost seems to be in this letter to his people a consciousness that it was to be his last, so earnestly does he dwell upon what may be called the sum of his whole teaching, — love to God, and love to man. It concludes: "Love is of God; and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him."

When the end came, it was with the simple words, "I am going now," that he recognized its approach. On the morning of Sunday, the twentieth of January, at the hour when the bells were ringing for divine service, he passed from earth. With what emotions the news of this event was heard by his people, to whom it was made known from the pulpit on the same day, has been told by Charles Greeley Loring: —

His death, although, perhaps, at any time to have been anticipated from long declining health and recently increasing illness, came to them — as the death of the loved and venerated always comes — as a sudden and afflicting bereavement; and its touching and solemnizing influences, visible on every face and in every eye, gave peculiar pathos to the services which followed.

Its announcement at any time or in any place to so many whose hearts for many long years had been filled with gratitude, love, and veneration towards him, could not have failed to awaken deep emotion, and to call up many exciting remembrances; but there seemed to be a soothing beauty and harmony kindly ordained that the hour of his departure, and the time and place of the communication to his people, should be those in which their hearts had so often mingled in the outpouring of his own in adoration and praise, and in which they had been wont to listen to his earnest and affecting appeals to prepare them for the realms to which he had now ascended.

It was, indeed, a fitting close to a ministry so full of blessed influences, and enshrined in so many hallowed recollections, that the remembrance of his departure for heaven should be thus associated with the sacred place and house, so dear to him, of his faithful devotion to his Master's cause.

Thursday, the twenty-fourth of January, was appointed for the funeral solemnities; and the doors of the church were opened on that day not only to his parishioners and to his family, but to all for whom there was room.

It is not our minister or kinsman alone, — said Dr. Bartol in the address he delivered on this occasion, — that is loosed from these material ties. It is a brother minister too, with all the faithful clergy; a leader of conspicuous charity in the whole spiritually catholic fellowship; a member of bodies of learning and benevolence; a classmate or associate of honorable men not of our ordinary congregation; long an officer in the college of which he was a graduate; a noble citizen and good man, as well as certainly true priest; a lover of mankind and defender of humanity in the low and down-trodden against all oppression.

Therefore, in the name and as the organ of this society, let me say to all those who visit us on this occasion, we love you for honoring our endeared, anciently chosen, and now sainted guide. From other churches and various denominations we hail your advent to bow over the hearse of him who was of no sect. Salutation and benediction, in his behalf, to those who sit in fellowship with the usual occupants of these pews; to those who have waited on his bier; to those most near to being contemporaries through his career; and to those who take part in this final service.

Of the peculiar appropriateness of the West Church as the scene of these observances, Dr. Bartol said: —

The body of our venerated pastor should be buried from the place of prayer and praise which he made the spiritual home of thousands that hung, from generation to generation, on the words of his lips.

Yes, it is well that the ashes, once so animated and ardent with emotion in this divine service, should have an hour's silent repose to-day beneath the roof that for scores of years, from its first erection, reverberated the eloquence which seemed to belong no more truly to his inspired nature than to the very composition of his clay; for his was one of the rarest organizations, for comeliness of proportion, grandeur of mien, emphatic utterance and penetrating look that it ever pleased the Almighty to fashion.

There are portraits and miniatures of Charles Lowell, but there is no likeness of him. When the image in the memory places itself beside the least imperfect of these, the difference is found greater than the resemblance.

Charles Lowell was a member of the Massachusetts Bible Society; of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society; of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians and Others; of the Society for the Promotion of Theological Knowledge at Harvard College; of the Evangelical Missionary Society; of the Massachusetts Humane Society; of the Massachusetts Peace Society; of the Prison Discipline Society; of the American Antiquarian Society; of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which — elected a member in 1815 — he was recording secretary from 1818 to 1833, and corresponding secretary from 1833 to 1849. He was on the publishing committee for several of the volumes of that society's Collections. He resigned his membership when his health no longer permitted him to attend the stated meetings; but in 1859 he was unanimously elected a resident member, and by a special vote of the society his name was inserted in the list of members in the place it held at his first election. He was made an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society January 15, 1847. He was a member, — one of the founders, — of the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen. He was a corresponding member of the Archæological Society of Athens. He received from Harvard College the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1823.

Dr. Lowell had six children,— Charles Russell, born October 30, 1807; Rebecca Russell, born January 17, 1809; Mary Traill Spence, born December 3, 1810; William Keith Spence, born September 23, 1813, died February 12, 1823; Robert Traill Spence, born October 8, 1816; James Russell, born February 22, 1819.

Dr. Lowell's published writings are: —

The Characteristics of a Good Soldier: a sermon preached at the annual Artillery Election, in 1810.

The Goodness of God should lead to Repentance: a sermon preached at the State Prison, 1812.

Sermon preached before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity, 1816.

Sermon after the execution of H. P. S. Davis, 1817.

Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, 1820.

Retrospection: a sermon containing the history of the West Church, 1820.

Ministerial Fidelity: a sermon preached at an ordination in Bridgewater, 1821.

The Duty and Responsibility of a Christian Minister: a sermon preached at an ordination in Boston, 1825.

The Christian Spirit: a sermon preached at an ordination in Kennebunk, 1820.

The Name of Christian the only Appropriate Name for Believers in Christ: a sermon preached at the dedication of a church in Cambridge, 1827.

The Trinitarian Controversy; "No man knoweth who the Son is but the Father:" a sermon preached at an ordination in Dennis, 1828.

Union in Sentiment among Christians not essential to Peace: a sermon preached at the dedication of a church in Natick, 1828.

Theology, and not Religion, the Source of Division and Strife in the Christian Church: a sermon preached at an ordination in Stowe, 1829.

Sermon preached at the dedication of a church in Milton, 1829.

The Wisdom and Goodness of God in appointing Men, and not Angels, to the Christian Ministry: a sermon preached at an ordination in Berlin, 1830.

Men accountable only to God for their Religious Opinions: a sermon preached at an ordination in Lowell, 1830.

The World passeth away: a sermon preached in the West Church at the end of twenty-five years from his settlement, 1831.

Gospel Preaching: a sermon preached at an ordination in Newburyport, 1831.

Discourse delivered in the West Church, Boston, 1845.

A volume containing fifteen of his Occasional Sermons, and a letter on Education in Greece, was published in 1855. Another volume, bearing the title, Sermons, chiefly Practical, was published the same year.

NICHOLAS MURRAY

The Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., youngest child of Nicholas and Judith (Mangum) Murray, was born at Ballynaskea, County of Westmeath, Ireland, on the twenty-fifth day of December, 1802. His father was a small landed proprietor, and seems to have been a man of considerable influence in the civil affairs of his neighborhood. Both parents were strict Roman Catholics. By the death of his father the training and education of the boy devolved solely upon his mother, a woman of strong character and feeling, and of intense devotion to her church, to whose service she dedicated her young son. But as he grew older he manifested a decided disinclination to the priesthood, and was therefore sent to Edgeworthstown, where he was apprenticed as a merchant's clerk. His employer was very severe; and after three years of hardship the lad ran away and returned to his mother, who, indignant at what she considered his insubordination, received him coldly, and insisted upon his returning to his employer. This he refused to do; and finally he suggested giving to his brother, who managed the small property left them by their father, a full release from all claim upon it, provided he himself should have a sum of money sufficient to take him to America. When his mother heard of this action she had him cursed from the altar; and when later she learned that he had left the church of his fathers, she mourned for him as for one dead, and had masses said for the repose of his soul.

Nicholas Murray landed in New York in the summer of 1818, without acquaintance or friend, and with but a small sum of money in his possession; but he had fine health, a good groundwork of education, untiring energy, and a determined purpose to begin, if necessary, at the lowest round of the ladder, but to climb to its top. He sought lodging and employment; and was soon successful in finding both with the Messrs. Harper, the founders of the great publishing house since known by their name, who after the fashion of that day provided a home in their own house for the young men in their employ. In this way young Murray was at once brought in contact with a Christian family, whose influence upon him was very strong at this important stage of his history. His unfailing cheerfulness, ready and sparkling wit, and untiring industry, made him a general favorite in his circle of young men. Here friendships were formed which lasted through life. Although still adhering to the outward forms of the church in which he had been brought up, the doubts of his early years were deepened by the conversation and influence of his new friends, and finally grew into questionings for which he had no answer. After a year or two of grave thought and indecision, Mr. Murray openly abandoned the church of his parents and of his own youth. He became a Presbyterian, having been baptized and received into the communion of the society worshipping in the Brick Church in the city of New York, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D. The attention of some of the members was attracted to the bright, earnest young man; and it was determined to enable him to obtain a liberal education with a view to the Christian ministry. At first this kindness was declined, but on its being again pressed upon him, and by the advice of all his friends, it was accepted; and in the fall of 1821, Mr. Murray entered upon his preparatory course at Amherst, Massachusetts, where, under the instruction of Gerard Hallock, afterwards the distinguished editor of the New York Journal of Commerce, he made such rapid progress that, in the summer of 1822, he was qualified to enter the freshman class at Williams College, of which the Rev. Dr. Griffin was then president. Here, again, his natural ability and unflagging industry entirely overcame any disadvantage in his preparation for college, and he soon became known as one of the best scholars, and probably the best debater in his class. The knowledge of the world which had come to him in his earlier struggles, his cheerful kindliness, his bright humor, and his fine conversational power made him a general favorite also. Immediately upon his graduation, in 1826, Mr. Murray was employed by the American Tract Society, and only left its service to commence his studies at Princeton Theological Seminary. At intervals during his theological course he absented himself from the seminary to engage in the work of the Tract Society; but he kept up his studies so thoroughly that there was no apparent break, and he was graduated fully with his class in 1829. His services had been so efficient, his business capacity was so remarkable, and his gifts so varied, that the Tract Society, immediately upon his licensure, offered Mr. Murray an important place on their staff; and the pressure was great to induce him to accept. His heart, however, was pledged to the regular work of the ministry, and in the autumn of 1829 he accepted a call to the pastoral charge of the joint churches of Wilkes Barre and Kingston, Pennsylvania.

In January of the following year, Mr. Murray was married to Miss Eliza Rhees of Philadelphia, a woman of rare intellectual power, and by her Christian training pre-eminently fitted to aid her husband in his life-work. Her father, the Rev. John Morgan Rhees, was a Welshman of liberal education, the intimate friend of Dr.

Benjamin Rush, in connection with whom he purchased a large tract of land in Pennsylvania and established a Welsh colony. Here Mr. Rhees lived and labored both as the leading proprietor, and as the pastor of the little colony, until his sudden death in 1804. His wife, who had been his constant companion and faithful upholder in all his efforts for his colony, was the daughter of Colonel Benjamin Loxley, an officer of the army of the Revolution, and a man of high character and standing in Philadelphia, to which city Mrs. Rhees returned with her little family after the death of her husband. Here she lived, and with her patrimonial inheritance educated all her children for posts of usefulness and honor.

In the fall of 1831, the American Tract Society again urged Mr. Murray to enter its service, and offered him the wide valley of the Mississippi as his field of labor; but he again declined to be diverted from his pastoral work.

The four years of Mr. Murray's pastorate in Wilkes Barre and Kingston were full of activity and usefulness. In addition to his care of his two parishes, he voluntarily assumed the part of a pioneer missionary to the small settlements then springing up through the section which has since become so widely known as the centre of the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. Three or four flourishing churches now live to attest the faithful zeal with which he planted the good seed of the Word. They were years, too, of preparation for the larger work which lay before him; and many of the scenes and incidents, of which he afterwards made such good use in his tracts and other writings, were founded on the experience of those early days.

In the midst of this earnest active life Mr. Murray received a call to the charge of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Happy in all his surroundings, with a people devoted to him and for whom he always cherished the warmest affection, it was hard to feel that his duty lay elsewhere; but when it was made clear that he would be more useful in the new field, the decision was quickly made, and on July 23, 1833, he was installed over the parish with which he was so closely identified for the remainder of his life. The church of which he became the pastor has a long and honorable history, — "being the oldest congregation in the State worshipping God in the English language," and having counted among its pastors, Jonathan Dickinson, the originator and first president of the College of New Jersey, James Caldwell, of Revolutionary memory, David Austin, and John McDowell who was Mr. Murray's immediate predecessor.

With his settlement at Elizabethtown, then a town of two thousand inhabitants, his life-work began. The post was well chosen, — in the old church of the Borough, dating from the founding of the Colony of New Jersey; in the centre of a population for generations attached to the forms and doctrines of his denomination; near to the cities of New York and Philadelphia, then beginning to feel the impulse of activity which has transformed them to the "world-cities" of to-day; yet in a quiet town, still governed by the traditions of a former century.

Mr. Murray was thirty-one years of age, of fine physique, in perfect health, and with indomitable energy and zeal to undertake all that was required of him. If he had foreseen that he had entered upon his life-work he could have made but little change in the manner in which he took up his duties. First of all were the claims of a large and widely scattered parish, and of a people critical as regards pulpit preparation and exacting as to pastoral ministration. These claims were imperative with him; and into whatever diverse fields of activity he entered, his work at home was never neglected.

He had frequent calls to other churches, and offices of trust and position in the Boards of the church were pressed upon him, but in vain. In 1834 he was called to the Presbyterian Church of Charleston, South Carolina; in 1835 he was elected secretary of the Foreign Missionary Society; in 1836 he was invited to settle over the Park-street Church, Boston, and this call was repeated three times; in 1837 he was called to Natchez, Mississippi; in 1839, to the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn; in 1842 the church in Natchez repeated its call; in 1849 he was asked to become the pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of St. Louis; in 1850 he was invited to the Seventh Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, and to a professorship in the new Theological Seminary in that city; in 1852 he was again asked to become pastor of the church in Brooklyn, New York. Subsequently, he was elected to secretaryships in the Board of Education and the Board of Domestic Missions; but he declined these and all other overtures, saying he "would live and die among his own people." Nor were his activities limited to his parish. From the time of his settlement, he thoroughly identified himself with the "Old Borough" and its interests. In 1840 he wrote Notes on Elizabethtown, a history of its settlement and progress, and was always interested in perpetuating the records of the history of the community, as well as in promoting measures for its growth and improvement.

Mr. Murray was also prominent in the councils and assemblies of his church. In 1850 he was Moderator of its General Assembly; he was for many years an active director in its Theological Seminary at Princeton, and in its different boards of benevolence, as well as in the great national religious societies. He went as a lecturer and preacher from the farthest East to the Mississippi, and from Canada to the extreme South. "In almost every part of the Presbyterian Church he was personally known."

But it was as a writer that Dr. Murray's name became most widely known. His method was so perfect, his industry so indefatigable, and his activity so untiring, that nothing was left undone, and gradually he became a frequent contributor to the secular and religious periodicals of the time. And as the years were bringing to him prosperity and influence, his heart turned lovingly to the land of his birth and to the thousands of his countrymen who were coming to the New World as he had come, and who were still members of the Church of Rome. The result of this earnest solicitude was the series of Letters to Archbishop Hughes, by Kirwan. The signature was the name of an Irish clergyman, Dean Kirwan, 1754–1805. The first of these letters appeared in the New York Observer, February, 1847. Their popularity was so great that they were immediately published in book form, and edition after edition was called for. As these letters were one of the most conspicuous of literary successes, over one hundred thousand copies being soon in circulation, the following statement by one connected with their publication may be of interest: —

> The letters were attributed to various distinguished writers; but the facts of personal history which were necessarily embodied in them soon narrowed the question of authorship, and those who were acquainted with Dr. Murray soon fastened upon him as the author. As the series was continued, the interest of the public in them increased. They were widely copied into other newspapers in this country and abroad. Roman Catholics read them with avidity. A meeting of Roman Catholics was held in the city of New York once a week, in secret, at which these letters were read aloud by one of the number. They were the heart and life experience of one who had felt and believed as they themselves were feeling and believing now. They had the stamp of sincerity on every line, and, unlike the

most of controversial writings, there was no bitterness in them. The sprightly humor spread so pleasantly over every page was welcome to our Irishman, and opened his heart to receive the force of an argument and admit the truth of a fact. The letters were translated into many foreign languages. They were speedily republished in Ireland, and were exceedingly popular and greatly useful there. Adding to the one hundred thousand copies soon in circulation the number circulated through the newspapers, we shall make an aggregate scarcely exceeded by any publication of the day. And it is certainly safe and just to say that no writings "on the same subject have excited so much attention since the Reformation, or have been so widely read by the masses of the people."

The letters were attacked by the Catholic press, and the author was addressed by public and private letters as Kirwan, and urged to continue his work and respond to these attacks. He needed, however, no outside pressure to carry on the controversy in which his heart and soul were enlisted. With him it was no idle flaunting of his powers of sarcasm, logic, invective, or keen-edged wit, but it was a labor of love in behalf of his countrymen and kindred.

In October, 1847, the first of the second series of Kirwan's Letters appeared. The effect of this second series was more powerful than that of the first.

To the first series of letters, Bishop Hughes made no reply. To the second, however, he responded in a series of letters in the Freeman's Journal, addressed to his own people with arguments designed to counteract the force of those used by Kirwan. These were followed by letters addressed to Kirwan himself; in the midst of which, the Bishop left the city for Halifax on official business, and brought his series suddenly and abruptly to an end. Kirwan wrote one letter in reply to the six which Archbishop Hughes addressed to him, and thus ended the controversy which gave great prominence to Dr. Murray, and enrolled him among the foremost of controversialists. Soon after this, the Archbishop delivered a lecture in New York on The Decline of Protestantism, and Dr. Murray was asked by the leading clergy of the city to reply to it, which he did on the evening of January 15, 1851. He spoke on The Decline of Popery and its Causes, and this was considered the ablest public effort of his life.

In 1852, he published Romanism at Home, a series of letters addressed to the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States. This volume was the result of his observations in Europe, particularly in Italy, during the summer and autumn of 1851. In 1853 he published Men and Things in Europe, in which also heavy blows are dealt at Romanism. In 1854 he published Parish and other Pencillings, a collection from his notebook of some of the incidents of his pastoral experience. In 1858 The Happy Home was published, and in 1859 Preachers and Preaching, the last volume Dr. Murray was spared to carry through the press. Although none of these books were as popular and widely known as the Kirwan Letters, they were all able, thoughtful, and helpful, and written with careful purpose. In addition to these, many of Dr. Murray's occasional discourses were published, but were never gathered into a volume. Shortly before Dr. Murray's death, he had prepared a course of sermons, which were afterwards published under the title of "A Dying Legacy to the People of his beloved Charge."

Dr. Murray considered all other literary work as secondary to his pulpit preparation, in which he was most diligent and systematic. He was not, according to present standards, an eloquent pulpit orator, but was always earnest, forcible, consecutive and logical; and his manner was both attractive and dignified. He rarely spoke without notes, and his written sermons, of which he left over one thousand, are models of careful and accurate preparation. With a fund of anecdote, a keen sense of humor which frequently flashed into wit, and an almost phenomenal power of giving a quick, bright turn to any or every question, it is a strong proof of Dr. Murray's earnest sense of his high office that he subordinated all these mental qualities to the faithful gospel message which he gave his hearers. But in the social circle all that was bright and humorous had full play, and at home or abroad he was the centre of every gathering. The merry laugh, the quick repartee, the bright smile and cheerful greeting, endeared him to young and old alike.

Dr. Murray was a member of many of the learned societies of the country. He was among the founders of the New Jersey Historical Society, and, at his individual request, the meeting was called that resulted in its organization. He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, May 12, 1847. He became a trustee of Williams College in 1860, and from this institution received the degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1843. The cause of common-school education occupied much of his time and thought, and his exertions were felt in the legislature and throughout the State.

In 1851, and again in 1860, he visited Europe, and on both of these visits he was warmly welcomed, not only by the clergy, but by many to whom his writings were well known. His visit to Ireland in 1860, though one of unceasing labor in speaking and preaching, was also of great delight, as he felt encouraged by the revival then in progress to hope for the ultimate conversion of his countrymen to the Protestant faith. He returned from this visit in the fall of 1860, and entered with renewed vigor upon his usual labors. But his work was almost accomplished; and, suddenly and without warning, the end came. A heavy cold taken at a funeral, settled in the region of his heart, and after less than two days of suffering, he passed away. He died at Elizabeth, New Jersey, February 4, 1861, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Mrs. Murray and four of the children born to him survived him, — two sons, Nicholas, and Thomas C., and two daughters. Mrs. Murray died at Elizabeth, March 7, 1871. His youngest child, Thomas Chalmers Murray, after pursuing a long course of study in this country and Germany, became a professor of Oriental Languages in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. He contributed many articles to the philological journals, and was considered among the foremost of oriental scholars in this country. He died at Baltimore, in 1879. A volume of his lectures, entitled Origin and Growth of the Psalms, was published in New York, in 1880.

The Memoirs of Dr. Murray were written by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Irenaeus Prime of the New York Observer, and published in a volume of 450 pages, 8vo., Harpers, New York, 1862.

JOHN WAKEFIELD FRANCIS

In speaking of Doctor Francis, the late Marshall Hall of London, himself a distinguished physician, remarked: "Why, sir, he is a most remarkable man, full of genius and sparkling wit; in personal appearance he is my very beau ideal of the early fathers of medicine. Have you many such men in America?"

Dr. John W. Francis, than whom no American physician was more widely known, more sincerely respected or better beloved, was a native of the city of New York, where he passed his whole life. He was born November 17, 1789, of German blood upon his father's side, and upon the maternal, Swiss; the characteristics of the two races — a philosophical and intense desire to fathom the depths of things, and an ardent love of freedom — being early and always marked traits in his character. His father, Melchior Francis, a native of Nuremberg, settled in this country as a merchant immediately after the Revolution, and his mother, whose maiden name was Somers, was a native of Philadelphia. Dr. Francis was their eldest child. While still a boy of six, his father and other members of the family died of yellow fever, and he himself was so ill with it that his coffin was brought into the sick room, in readiness for his interment. He early manifested so decided a taste for literature that he was placed in the printing-office of Mr. George Long, a publisher of the day; but he soon showed a greater aptitude for the composition of manuscript than for that of type; and though he retained throughout life a love for the guild, he followed the example of Franklin, whom in person as in other respects he much resembled, and withdrew from the mechanical portion of the business to the more responsible position of author and director of the public thought. Meanwhile, he was wise enough to build upon the only sure foundation of success, — a well cultivated mind.

The fatherless lad was fortunate in a mother whose views of education so harmonized with his own inclinations. He was placed at the school of the Rev. George Strebeck; and was still further prepared for college by the Rev. George Conroy, of Trinity College, Dublin. Entering at Columbia College two years in advance, he at the same time, while still an undergraduate, studied medicine with Dr. David Hosack; acted as assistant preceptor to his fellow-students, and as associate editor with his teacher of a professional journal, The American Medical and Philosophical Register. He took his collegiate degree in 1809, and that of medicine in 1811, being the first graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was at once admitted to partnership by his very distinguished preceptor, Dr. Hosack, whose practice was perhaps at the time the leading one of New York. With such a friend and with such surroundings, his future at once became certain. His character was finally formed, and the course of his whole after life decided, almost by the force of circumstances, and without his own free-will. He had but to recognize and embrace the opportunities that each successive year afforded.

In 1813, but two years after his graduation, the Medical Department of Columbia College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons were consolidated. Dr. Hosack relinquished the chair of Materia Medica and Botany for that of Theory and Practice, and young Francis was appointed to the vacant place, — thus being raised at a bound to the same plane with Dr. Hosack, Dr. Valentine Mott, the professor of Surgery, Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, of Natural History, and Dr. William J. McNeven, of Chemistry. To perfect himself, he at once visited Europe, — more seldom done then than now, — and made himself familiar with the methods of practice and the leading practitioners of Edinburgh, Paris, and London. Upon his return, his chair was made known as that of the Institutes of Medicine, Chemistry having been added to the Materia Medica. In 1817 he succeeded Dr. James S. Stringham as professor of Medical Jurisprudence, and in 1819 he accepted in addition the chair of Obstetrics, that surest key to family practice. He held these appointments until 1826; and then resigning with all his colleagues, they founded the brilliant, but short-lived Rutgers Medical School, in which Dr. Francis was professor of Obstetrics and Forensic Medicine. In 1830 he ceased from his labors as lecturer, and devoted himself thenceforth to more active work, as a family practitioner, and to general literature, in both of which pursuits he achieved the highest success. His intimate friends abroad had been Abernethy,—who indeed is said to have offered to him a partnership,—the Coopers, Pearson, and Brande, John Bell, Brewster, Gregory, the Duncans, Sir Walter Scott, and Byron, Rees, Playfair, Jameson, the Aikins, Cuvier, Dupuytren, Gall, Denon, Arago, and Geoffroy St. Hilaire. He now became the centre of a large circle of eminent men in every department of science and literature, and his house was the acknowledged resort of all the distinguished people of his time.

His editorship, with Dr. Hosack, of The Medical and Philosophical Register, already mentioned, extended from 1810 to 1814. In 1811 his inaugural thesis upon the Use of Mercury appeared; in 1814, Cases of Morbid Anatomy; in 1816, Febrile Contagion. From 1822 to 1824 he edited, with Drs. John B. Beck and Jacob Dyckman, the New York Medical and Physical Journal; in 1823 he published his Notice of Thomas Eddy the Philanthropist; 1825, Denman's Practice of Midwifery, with Notes; 1830, his Address before the New York Horticultural Society; 1831, Address before the Philolexian Society; 1832, Letter on Cholera Asphyxia; 1834, Observations on the Mineral Waters of Avon, New York, and the Anatomy of Drunkenness; 1841, Discourse before the New York Lyceum of Natural History; 1847, 1848, 1849, Anniversary Discourses before the New York Academy of Medicine; 1850, Discourse upon Dr. Franklin, before the Typographical Society of New York; 1854, Memoir of Christopher Colles; 1857, Old New York, or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years; 1858, Discourse at the Bellevue Hospital; 1859, a second Discourse before the New York Typographical Society, upon the Publishers, Printers, and Editors of New York; in 1860, the Life of Gouverneur Morris.

Besides the above, Dr. Francis published articles in different medical Journals upon Obstetrics, Vitriolic Emetics in Croup, the Use of Sanguinaria Canadensis and of Elaterium, the Goitre of Western New York and Canada, Medical Jurisprudence, Yellow Fever, Death by Lightning, Caries of the Jaw in Children, Ovarian Disease, etc. He is said to have been the first to call the attention of American physicians to the use of croton oil, elaterium, and iodine. He wrote, besides, biographical sketches of many of his friends, as Chancellor Livingston, Philip Freneau, Daniel Webster, J. Fenimore Cooper, the Coldens, John Pintard, Drs. Hosack, Miller, Rush, Mitchill, Romayne, and Bard, and the actors Cooke and Kean; and of the writers whom he had taken as his models, Bishop Berkeley and Dr. Franklin.

He was second president of the New York Academy of Medicine, and of the Medical Board of the New York Woman's Hospital; president of the Medical Board of Bellevue Hospital, and of the New York Phrenological

Society; and vice-president of the Ethnological Society. In 1850 he was made Doctor of Laws by Trinity College, Hartford. In 1861 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Columbia College. He was foreign associate of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society of London; and high among the many fellowships that he held and valued, of distinguished scientific, literary, and historical associations, both abroad and at home, was that of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, of which he became a corresponding member, July 4, 1855. He was deeply interested in the success of the New York Historical Society, to which he was a most generous donor; also in the Woman's Hospital, and the State Inebriate Asylum; and was incessant in his devotion to the fine arts, the typographical guild, natural history, horticulture, ethnology, and general and local history.

Dr. Francis was married, November 16, 1829, — the eve of his birthday, — to Maria Eliza, daughter of Mr. Benjamin C. Cutler, sheriff of Norfolk County, Massachusetts. She was a sister of the late Rev. Dr. Benjamin C. Cutler of Brooklyn, New York; a grand-niece of General Francis Marion, and, it is said, a relative of Charlotte Corday. Her mother was a personal friend of General Washington, as Dr. Francis's own mother had been of Benjamin Franklin. Their children were Dr. John Ward Francis, who died in New York in 1855; Dr. Valentine Mott Francis, and Dr. Samuel Ward Francis, both the surviving brothers being now residents of Newport, Rhode Island. Seldom is the influence of hereditary talents and tastes more forcibly shown than in the case of these two sons. Mott Francis inherits all his father's fondness for the histrionic art; and, had he so chosen, could easily have won the highest triumphs of the stage. Samuel W. Francis, on the other hand, is a literary man of the higher order, and, true son of the old printer, he has shown the instincts of his blood by inventing the automatic type-writer, which is destined, it would seem, to revolutionize the whole typographical art.

Dr. Francis died on the eighth of February, 1861, in his seventy-second year. He was fortunate in the friends who, from very different stand-points, have given their estimates of his life and character. The great surgeon, his colleague Dr. Valentine Mott, and the equally well-known author, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, have affectionately and worthily embalmed his memory. His ruling passions were unabated to the very close of his life. During his last illness, which was protracted and painful, he said to a friend: "If it had pleased God, I should have been glad to live a little longer; and I would have been satisfied to sit in the chimney corner and write." May he rest in peace!

SAMUEL FULTON CLARK

The Rev. Samuel Fulton Clark was born on the twenty-fourth day of February, 1818, during a temporary residence of his parents in the township of Shipton, Lower Canada, now the Province of Quebec, about three miles westerly of the present village of Richmond, on the northerly side of the St. Francis River. He was the thirteenth child, and the ninth and youngest son of Jonas and Mary (Twitchel) Clark; grandson of William and Sarah (Locke) Clark, of Townsend, Massachusetts, great-grandson of William and Eunice (Taylor) Clark, of Concord and Townsend, great-great-grandson of Samuel Clark, whose wife is supposed to have been Rachel Nichols. Samuel Clark, the first immigrant ancestor, was in Concord, Massachusetts, probably before the year 1680; and is believed to have been born in or near London, England, but came to Massachusetts when a small boy, with his father. The Christian name of the latter, according to tradition, was Joseph; but it is thought by some to have been Arthur. The mother of the Rev. Mr. Clark was the daughter of Abel and Sarah (Adams) Twitchel, of Dublin, New Hampshire. She was descended from Joseph Twitchel, who settled in Dorchester about 1633, through Benjamin and Mary of Sherborn and Lancaster, Joseph and Lydia of Sherborn, Joseph and Elizabeth of Sherborn, Joseph and Deborah of Sherborn, these last named being the parents of her father.

Mr. Clark's parents were both very fond of reading, and possessed much general information. His mother, a school teacher in her early womanhood, was thoroughly devoted to her children, anxious to have them become useful and honorable members of society, of great energy of character, and very social in her nature. His father was a lover of controversy, particularly interested in the study of the Bible; and few clergymen of his day were more thoroughly acquainted with its contents than he. He was likewise much interested in medical science and practice, and if he had been educated in that profession, he would doubtless have taken a prominent rank. But being early left an orphan and put out to service, he had no opportunity for a professional education. He learned the trade of a clothier, and established the first cloth-dressing mill in Dublin, New Hampshire, at what is now the town of Harrisville. His health failing, he relinquished that business after a few years, and devoted himself to other pursuits. For a time he was a resident of Canada, but returned to Dublin, when his son Samuel was about twenty months old.

It was in the town of Dublin that the subject of this sketch spent his early years. He received the rudiments of his education in the somewhat celebrated common schools of that town, which obtained a marked degree of excellence under the wise supervision of the Rev. Levi W. Leonard, D. D., who for more than thirty years was the efficient chairman of the school committee. He was also a member of Dr. Leonard's Sunday-school, which was among the earliest established in New Hampshire. As soon as he could read he had access to the Juvenile Library, established and owned by the faithful pastor. Thus was formed, very early, a love of knowledge and a taste for reading useful books, which were strengthened by the example of his parents.

Under these influences his mind was developed, and in some measure prepared to take a wider range of reading and study in maturer years. When about ten years old he was put out to service with a farmer, where he spent about four years, having plenty of hard work, and rather poor fare. He was wont to look back upon this period of his life with feelings of sadness, and almost of bitterness; for he felt that he was overtasked, ill-fed, too scantily clothed, and treated too much like a slave. It was the one dark spot in his youthful days; and it was a joyful time when his term of service expired.

For a year or two subsequently, he worked in other places, as well as at home with his parents, and attended school in the winter season. At one time he commenced learning the trade of a shoemaker, but after a few weeks' trial gave up the project. When about sixteen years old he went to Jaffrey, New Hampshire, to learn the trade of a tanner and currier, of Mr. Benjamin Cutter, by whom an older brother was employed as a journeyman. Here he remained until he became of age, attending in the mean time one or two terms of the Melville Academy, located in the village.

Leaving Jaffrey in 1839, at the expiration of his apprenticeship, he went to the neighboring town of Peterboro', and was employed by Mr. Joshua L. Little as a journeyman. While here an incident occurred that changed his whole plan of life. At a religious meeting the officiating clergyman made some theological statements that Mr. Clark deemed erroneous; and as soon as occasion offered, he rose and expressed his entire dissent from the views advanced, and entered into an argument to show that they were not in accordance with the Bible, reason, or common sense. The affair created a sensation in the village. Shortly after this he was urged by the

Rev. Curtis Cutler, Albert Smith, M.D., LL.D., and others, to give up his trade and enter upon a course of study preparatory to the ministry. He all the more readily listened to their solicitation, because he was ambitious to rise above the adverse circumstances of his early years, and to do something for the elevation of others. Hence, in the winter of 1841, he commenced the study of Latin with the venerable Rev. Dr. Abiel Abbot, a former minister of the town. On May 26, 1841, at the commencement of the summer term, he entered Phillips Exeter Academy, where he spent three years, leaving at the close of the spring term in April, 1844. He entered the Divinity School of Harvard College in the following August; from which, after "honorably" completing the regular three years course of study, he was graduated in July, 1847.

Very soon after his graduation, at the solicitation of friends in Boston, he went to Athol, Massachusetts, and undertook to revive the First Congregational Church there, which for a year or two had held no regular services. After considerable effort, arrangements were made that he should supply the pulpit half of the time, and also the pulpit at Warwick, then vacant and ten miles distant, the other half. This was done through the fall and ensuing winter. He awakened so much interest in the Athol Society with which he resided that on March 22, 1848, he was unanimously invited to become their sole pastor, with an annual salary of seven hundred dollars, and three weeks' vacation each year. Either party could dissolve the connection by giving thirty days' notice. The call was accepted previous to the fifth of April of that year, and his ordination took place on the nineteenth of that month. The sermon was preached by his old friend and much revered pastor, the Rev. Dr. Leonard, previously mentioned. The other exercises were as follows: Ordaining prayer, by the

Rev. Curtis Cutler of Peterboro', New Hampshire; charge, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Fitchburg; the fellowship of the churches, by his brother, the Rev. George F. Clark of Charlemont; address to the people, by the Rev. Frederic T. Gray of Boston.

Though his salary was nominally the sum already mentioned, he never received that amount from the parish. One hundred dollars of it was paid the first year by Boston friends. The parish never paid him over six hundred dollars, and sometimes only five hundred, yet always with great unanimity expressed a strong desire that he should remain. He was also assured that, if he left, the house of worship would almost certainly be again closed. Hence he consented to continue his pastorate, and did all he could to sustain the society.

On the church records he left a statement of what he had done, to "show," as he said, "by what efforts and means Liberal Christianity has been sustained of late in the First Parish." He adds in conclusion, "I look back with great pleasure on the efforts made in this cause here." On the fourteenth of November, 1851, he sent in his resignation as pastor. During the latter part of the winter of 1852, he preached in Brattleboro', Vermont, and in Norton and Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and had assurances at one or two of these places of a call if he would accept it. Meanwhile the Athol parish were using every effort to induce him to remain. So strong and unanimous was this desire that he withdrew his resignation and cancelled his engagements to preach elsewhere. He continued their pastor until April 20, 1856, when he preached his farewell sermon, eight years and one day from the date of his ordination.

On the twenty-ninth of June 1856, and the two following Sundays, he preached for the Unitarian Society of Ware, Massachusetts. Again he was there on the last day of August, and the six following Sundays.

November second, and the two following Sundays, he once more occupied the pulpit. And on the seventeenth day of that month he was unanimously invited to settle as their pastor. He accepted the call in a letter dated December 15, 1856. The services of installation occurred on Christmas Eve. Parts were assigned to six different clergymen. But on account of a severe snow storm, and the almost impassable condition of the roads, together with the previous engagements of some of the speakers, none of them were present, except the Rev. S. S. Hunting, of Brookfield, to whom had been assigned the giving of the right-hand of fellowship of the churches. But, in addition to this, he performed most acceptably all the services except the address to the Society, which was omitted, and the concluding prayer, which was offered by the pastor.

Mr. Clark's ministry at Ware was more agreeable and pleasant, in most respects, to him, than was his previous pastorate. We are told that during his residence there "he was highly esteemed by every one of all denominations." In an obituary notice of him, written by one of his parishioners, we learn that nothing in his or their intercourse ever occurred to mar the pleasantness of the sacred relation of pastor and people.

About the middle of November, 1858, while his house was undergoing repairs, he slept in a newly plastered room before it was sufficiently dry, and took a severe cold, which was aggravated a few days afterwards by a ride in a raw chilly wind to Athol. This was soon followed by a severe hemorrhage from the lungs. Yet he preached a portion of the time, until the first of February, 1859, when by the advice of friends he concluded to take a trip to Europe, with the hope of a restoration to health. He sailed from New York, accompanied by his devoted wife, on the fourteenth of February. Among the passengers were his intimate friends Mr. Nathan Richardson, of Warren, Massachusetts, extensively known as an author and publisher of music, and his accomplished wife. They arrived at Antwerp, March 10. From thence, in a day or two, he proceeded to Paris, visiting on the way the battlefield of Waterloo. He remained at Paris about six weeks under the care of J. F. Churchill, M.D. The Doctor pronounced his case a favorable one, and thought that, after completing his tour, he could return home and resume his pastoral duties without detriment. Leaving Paris he proceeded to Rome, and returned through Switzerland, Germany, Holland, England, and Ireland, visiting many places of interest in the cities he passed through. While in London, he preached one Sunday without any unpleasant effects. He also spoke at the anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, in reply to a resolution of welcome. He also preached once on his homeward passage on shipboard, with no apparent injury.

Mr. Clark sailed from Liverpool on June 22. The steamer met with an accident, and was compelled to put in at Queenstown. After a day or two of delay, another steamer took the place of the disabled one, and he arrived in New York on the seventh of July, and reached his home in Ware on the ninth, having been absent just five months. He received a cordial welcome from his parishioners, and soon resumed his parochial duties. Yet he was not permanently benefited by his foreign tour. A year after his return he had gained some flesh and strength. Still the insidious disease was slowly undermining his constitution. He did all he could, by open-air exercise of various kinds, to check the disease, for he had a strong desire to live, not so much for himself as for his family, and humanity at large.

Near the close of December, 1860, he took a severe cold, from the effects of which he never recovered. Though fully aware that his end was near, he determined to die with the harness on, and continued to preach until the tenth of February, 1861. His sermon on that day, though not the last one he wrote, was upon the Future Life, and, in his then dying condition, it made a deep impression upon his people. On the following Sunday, he had a "christening service" in the church, baptizing his infant daughter and two or three other children, and making a short address. For two or three Sundays previously, being too weak to walk, he was carried from his carriage into the church, by some of his parishioners. Finally, on Sunday, February 24, the forty-third anniversary of his birth, feeling too feeble to go out, he wrote a letter to the Hon. Charles A. Stevens, his ever-faithful and dear friend, the chairman of the parish committee, resigning his office of pastor, saying, however, "It would be gratifying to me to die the minister of the parish, but the interests of the society require the settlement of a new minister as soon as may be." But at a meeting of the parish, relative to his resignation, it was voted not to accept it. His last wish was therefore gratified, and he died, the pastor of the church, March 27, 1861, aged forty-three years, one month, and three days.

Though perfectly aware, for weeks, that his earthly career must soon end, he nevertheless knew no fear of death, but looked forward to the event with the utmost composure. He made all the arrangements for his funeral, and gave directions relative to his gravestone, with as much deliberation as he ever transacted any business. He watched the progress of his disease with a philosophic eye, and calmly awaited the summons to go up higher. Only a few moments before the end came, he asked of those around him, "Is this death?" On being assured it was, he quietly remarked, "It is not hard to bear."

The funeral services were held at the church, on the first day of April, the Rev. Rushton D. Burr, of Brookfield, making the principal address. His body was buried in the

Aspen Grove Cemetery, a short distance westerly of the village, in a beautiful lot of his own selection. He passed away in the full faith of the great evangelical truths he had conscientiously endeavored to expound and exemplify, and looked forward to a happy re-union with the loved ones that had preceded him to the spirit world.

The prominent traits in his character were self-reliance, independence, and moral courage. He formed his own opinions from careful study and observation; and, when formed, he had no hesitancy in avowing and defending them with his wonted energy, whether they were popular or not. When convinced that he was right, no earthly power could move him; threats and ridicule were alike of no avail. While at Exeter Academy he introduced a resolution into a society of the students, aimed at the expulsion of one of its members for sending a challenge to fight a duel to a young resident of the town. A portion of the society threatened to pass a vote of censure if he did not withdraw the resolution; but he defied their threats, and declared he would appeal to the trustees of the institution. They were not prepared for this, and did not press the matter.

Again, on his return voyage from Europe, some of the hot-headed passengers, Americans and English, got into a dispute relative to celebrating the Fourth of July. One young fellow said if he could not have his say about it, "there will be a row." "No," said Mr. Clark, "there will not be a row. The good sense of the *gentlemen* of both nations on board will permit no such thing, and the man who thinks he can get up a row is a fool." The bully came forward with clenched fists, as if to strike, exclaiming, "Do you call me a fool?" Mr. Clark stood firmly, with his hands behind him, and repeated the words he had just uttered, and the poor fellow retired to the background without another word. The Americans on board subsequently had a meeting, and read the Declaration of Independence; wine was called for by some of the party, but Mr. Clark told them that if it was brought he must be excused from taking part in the services. It was dispensed with, and at the request of the company he made a short address.

He was rather fond of controversy, and quite gifted in an impromptu debate, especially upon moral and religious subjects. He and other students at Exeter had a long discussion with one of the professors, who was the teacher of their Bible class, upon the doctrine of the Trinity. Once, while connected with the Divinity School, he spent a night in a town where he was an entire stranger, and listened to an anti-slavery address, by Parker Pillsbury, who spoke in derogation of the Rev. Dr. Channing, as an opponent of Slavery. Mr. Clark, at the close of the address, repelled the aspersions cast upon the celebrated divine, and quoted passages from his writings, to show how unjust were Mr. Pillsbury's remarks.

He was somewhat radical, for those times, in his theological speculations, and was deemed not a little unsound by some of the ministerial association to which he belonged, but his undoubted sincerity commanded their thorough respect. When Theodore Parker had become the subject of severe criticism and of disfellowship by many of his former associates in the ministry, Mr. Clark wrote a letter offering to exchange with him. He was thoroughly devoted to what he believed to be rational Christianity, and boldly defended it when assailed. Very early in his ministry he discarded the strictly clerical dress, and almost shocked some of his parishioners by appearing in the pulpit wearing a white vest.

He was deeply interested in the reform movements of the day, especially in the anti-slavery agitation. He spoke in the pulpit, and out of it, against African slavery, and assisted the fleeing bondmen in their journey to Canada, after the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. He rejoiced in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, and awaited the reception of his inaugural address with a most profound interest. It was received only a few days before his death, and he was intensely gratified with some of the passages.

He possessed, in fine, a progressive and inquiring mind, and was ever ready to accept new truth, whether it were popular or otherwise; and for this characteristic he was indebted to both his parents.

An enthusiastic lover of Nature, he saw the manifestation of God in everything around him, and therefore continually looked through Nature up to Nature's God. From his study window, at Ware, he had a most charming view of the village, the valley, and the hills around, and he most thoroughly enjoyed the prospect. A few days before his death, while looking out of his study window upon the setting sun, he spoke to his brother of the delightful prospect and of his great love of Nature, and referred to the time when, a young man, he was wont to sit in the woods near his father's house, on the bank of a small river, and meditate upon the beauties of creation; and of the great influence they had in the formation of his religious character. His attention was called to that exquisitely beautiful hymn of the Rev. S. G. Bulfinch, entitled "The voice of God in the heart." He requested it should be read. At the close of the reading of the second stanza,—

"Hast thou not heard 'mid forest glades,
While ancient rivers murmured by,
A voice from forth th' eternal shades,
That spake a present Deity?"

he exclaimed, "Please stop; those words seem almost to take my soul out of my body." He appeared to be filled with the most ecstatic feelings, and large drops of sweat stood upon his forehead. In a few moments he said: "The influence of those words is sufficient of itself to convince me of the reality of a heavenly life to which I am hastening."

Mr. Clark was very social in his nature, was generally popular with his parishioners, greatly enjoyed intercourse with his friends, and was an ardent lover of children, with whom he was always on the most intimate terms.

He married, April 30, 1848, Miss Mary E. Morse, daughter of Thaddeus and Serena (Appleton) Morse, of Dublin, New Hampshire. She died April 1, 1853, and was buried at Athol; over whose grave the ladies of the parish erected a chaste and appropriate monument. She was a woman of superior intelligence, of rare excellence of character, and much beloved by all. They had one child, Frank Appleton, born June 22, 1850. On his passage from Liverpool, England, to Calcutta, he fell from the rigging of the ship into the sea, and was drowned, on the third of May, 1870, some distance to the southwest of the Cape De Verd Islands. The second wife of Mr. Clark, married September 3, 1855, was Divine Perry, of Athol, only daughter of David and Divine (Goodell) Perry, formerly of North Orange, Massachusetts. They had one child, Mary Morse, who was born August 28, 1860, and died March 13, 1865. His widow married, April 25, 1876, the Rev. John W. Hudson, of Peabody, Massachusetts.

An obituary notice of Mr. Clark, written by the Rev. George T. Hill, was printed in the Ware Standard, of April 13, 1861. Another notice, written by the Rev. R. D. Burr, was published in the Christian Inquirer, of New York, and copied into the Peterboro' (N. H.) Transcript, of April 27, 1861. The New England Historical and Genealogical Register of July, 1861, also contains a notice of him.

He was a member of the school committee of Athol for three years, and wrote the reports for the years ending April, 1850 and 1854. He also printed a sermon delivered

December 8, 1847, at the re-dedication of the church at Athol; and likewise a centennial discourse, delivered on the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of the same church, September 9, 1850. A sermon on Family Devotion was printed in the Monthly Religious Magazine of June, 1854. His speech at the Centennial Celebration, at Dublin, New Hampshire, June 17, 1852, relative to the Sunday-school, was printed in the History of Dublin. Various articles from his pen were printed in the newspapers of his day, and a series of European letters appeared in the Christian Inquirer, of New York, during the summer of 1859. He also left a manuscript diary of his foreign tour.

LEMUEL SHAW

EARLY AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

In reply to the request of Christopher C. Baldwin, Esq., made on behalf of the Worcester Historical Society, that Chief Justice Shaw would furnish a copy of the sentiment given by him at the Society's celebration of the centenary of the incorporation of Worcester County, in 1831, to be enclosed with other articles in a box and kept till 1931, Judge Shaw sent, or thought of sending — time alone will tell — a summary of the events of his life up to that time, to accompany the paper asked for, a draft of which reads as follows: —

May I without unpardonable egotism seize the occasion to say a few words about myself? The hope of attracting the momentary notice of some curious antiquary of the next century must be my apology for doing so. I was born in Barnstable, January 9, 1781, was graduated at Harvard College in 1800, admitted to the Bar 1804, first in Hillsborough County, N. H., then in Plymouth County in this State, appointed Chief Justice September, 1830. My father was Oakes Shaw, graduated at Harvard 1758, ordained minister of the West Parish of Barnstable in 1760, and so continued till his death, 1807 My grandfather was John Shaw, graduated at Harvard 1729, settled as minister in the South Parish of Bridgewater, who died about 1790. His father was Joseph Shaw, a farmer and miller in East Bridgewater. My mother was Susanna Hayward of Braintree, born 1745, still living at eighty-six. Her father was John Hayward of Braintree.

I married in 1818 Elizabeth Knapp, daughter of Josiah Knapp of this city, by whom I was blessed with two children: John Oakes and Elizabeth, still living; she died June, 1822. In August, 1827, I married Hope Savage, daughter of Dr. Samuel Savage of Barnstable; we have one child, Lemuel, three years old. I commenced the practice of law in this city in the autumn of 1804, and have ever since resided here. I was a member of the House of Representatives from 1811 to 1815, again in 1819, in the Convention for amending the Constitution in 1820, in the Senate 1821–2, again in the House of Representatives in 1829. I was of the committee of the town who framed the plan of city government, drew up the report and the act of incorporation. I have held several elective offices under both the town and city government.

It may be convenient to complete this outline of facts, and to add, that another son and youngest child was born in 1833 of his second marriage, named for his grandfather Samuel Savage; that in 1834 Judge Shaw was elected Fellow of Harvard College, an office which he held till his death; that he received the degree of LL. D. from Harvard in 1831 and from Brown University in 1850; that, with the exception of an occasional illness and a vacation in Europe in 1853, his labors as judge were uninterruptedly carried on until his resignation in 1860. He died March 30, 1861. His widow survived him eighteen years and died August 13, 1879. His son Lemuel died May 6, 1884; his other children are living.

Lemuel Shaw's childhood was passed in an old-fashioned New England parsonage, if the minister's house may be so called, in that part of Barnstable known as Great Marshes. The house is still standing, though much modernized. His father was of the old style eighteenth century order of New England ministers, settled for life on a salary of £80 lawful money, afterwards increased to £100, with a certain allowance of firewood; but this stipend was sadly impaired in value during the evil period of continental paper money, and was always hard to get. Much of it was collected on orders on the Constable, agreeing to allow the amount to the Precinct Treasurer, which in the hands of the parishioner became equivalent to cash for the purpose of paying his tax. The inconvenience of this to a man with a distaste for accounts may be well imagined. For several years after the war, the Rev. Oakes Shaw seems to have maintained a chronic remonstrance against what he conceived to be the unfairness with which he was treated by the people of the Precinct in money matters, leading almost to an open rupture, which, however, happily never occurred. All this must have been very disturbing to his peace, for though active as a preacher and pastor, as testified by an obituary notice in the Panoplist, then under the direction of Dr. Jedediah Morse, business and affairs were but little to his mind. Devoting himself to his sermons and to visiting, he gladly left his worldly concerns to the management of his wife. At the time of his second marriage in 1774 to Susanna Hayward of Braintree, he was a widower with three daughters, and there were afterwards born to him two sons, John Hayward and Lemuel. It was to this excellent wife and mother that the family owed all its little measure of thrift and prosperity. She was enabled to buy the house and add to its comforts through some slight patrimony of her own.

With such parents it was natural that the education of their sons should be a matter of supreme interest. A subscription towards the charge of a school which should have a "grammar schoolmaster" of a liberal education was started by Mr. Shaw, but nothing is known to have come of it. He seems to have been the only instructor of his sons while they were at home, and to have included as their fellow-pupil the son of a neighbor, young Freeman Parker, afterwards settled at Dresden in Maine as a Congregationalist minister, whom he prepared for college gratuitously. Mr. Parker has left a pleasant reminiscence of his early days in a little poem or, as he modestly styled it, a piece of "prose run mad," written for the amusement of his grandchildren and not to be shown to any beyond the domestic circle, called "The Button-wood Tree." It is hoped that no serious violation of confidence is committed by the insertion here of the following lines.

The button-wood tree, whose wide-spreading shade,
Oft in the summer my study I made,
Where Latin and Greek and English I learned,
While thirsting for lore my young bosom burned.
And then when prepared with heartfelt delight
To good Father Shaw's I hied to recite.
Well I remember his grave, solemn look,
His three-cornered hat, his pipe, and his book.

. . . .

I do not forget the high-backed arm-chair,
And the old pipe-box and desk which were there
In the study, where our lessons we said,
And the east window with hop vines o'erspread,
Where three of us sat learning Latin and Greek
Day following day and week after week.

In the earliest letter, however, which we have from Lemuel, dated April 18, 1793, he writes to his brother: —

You said in your last you thought I had studied very hard, but you were much mistaken. I do not study more than half the time, my eyes are weak, and I have work to do which takes more than half the time.

From Barnstable Lemuel was sent to finish his preparation for college to the school of a Mr. Salisbury at Braintree, and on the twenty-seventh of June, 1796, his mother writes to her brother at that place: —

Lemmy writes that Mr. Salisbury's school breaks up a fortnight sooner than he expected, and wishes to know immediately what he must do. I desired Mr. Shaw to write and tell him, but he says he can't himself but has desired me to. As we expect to send this by the post I hope you will excuse me if I write to Lemmy in this sheet to save postage. . . .

In my last letter to Lemmy I told him to ask you how many bushels of rye delivered at Boston would purchase a horse-cart; as rye harvest draws near I should be glad to know. . . . If I mistake not you told me you could buy tow-cloths yard wide for 1*s.* per yard; if you can buy it so now I should like to have some, etc. etc.

And to Lemuel, on the other half-sheet: —

I am glad to hear you have been able to go to school every day since you have been at Braintree; no doubt your early rising contributes to your health. I am sorry your school breaks up so much sooner than you expected. If you have any encouragement from Mr. Salisbury that you would be admitted into college at Commencement your father is willing you should stay, provided your friends are willing to keep you, and you can get your present instructor or Mr. Weld to attend to hear your lessons. . . . When you are in Boston on your way home, I would have you go to the rope-walks and get a good hemp bed-cord, etc. etc.

No doubt Mr. Salisbury gave the desired encouragement, for in July Lemuel presented himself for examination at Harvard College, — with what result may be gathered from the following letters.

BARNSTABLE, August 13, 1796.

MY DEAR LEMMY, — . . . Your uncle thinks it will be of service to you that you were not admitted, and your aunt says you supported the disappointment like a man. I hope you will not be too much mortified, but will make it your endeavor to convince the government by your studious and regular conduct that you are not unworthy a place in the University if you should gain admission upon a further examination; for your further encouragement, your brother tells me of one of his classmates, who was the best scholar in the class, who was turned by for the vacation. I expect to send this by your good friend Parker, who I trust will take a fatherly care of you. I wrote you this week through the post that if my cloth was dressed that I sent by you to Weymouth you might get you a coat made this week; if it is not done, Freeman says you can obtain permission by applying to government for leave to wear such as you have by telling them how the case is circumstanced, that when you left home last May your father had no idea of your going to college this year, and that you have had no time to go home since Commencement.

Be slow and cautious in the choice of your acquaintance; in particular beware of being acquainted with the upper classes except recommended by P., or some one on whose fidelity you can depend. If possible, get some old *steady* fellow for your chum; . . . and write soon to your affectionate

MOTHER.

AUGUST 27, 1796.

MY DEAR LEMUEL, — We received by the post yesterday a letter from your good uncle Doctor, with a bond from the government of the University which announces your being admitted a member of that society. I congratulate you on the event; hope you will do honor to yourself, which will afford comfort to your friends. I trust you have a just sense of the obligation you are under to your uncles, to whose kindness and exertions you may attribute your present situation. Think what a claim they have upon you to do your best to be steady, prudent, and studious. Being forewarned is said to be forearmed; let me therefore caution you to establish a *good character.* Always beware of the first deviation from the path of rectitude. Be on your guard never to do anything privately that would cause a blush to have it exposed. I would have you go to your uncle in all cases of difficulty. . . .

Your affectionate mother,

S. S.

The uncle last mentioned was Dr. Lemuel Hayward, of Boston, whose hospitable house, on Newbury Street, opposite the White Horse, — in other words, in a garden covering nearly the whole of the present Hayward Place, — his nephew and namesake ever found a second home. No account of Lemuel Shaw would be complete without a grateful acknowledgment of the paternal care and kindness of Dr. Hayward, at all times extended to his nephew, and most valuable at his start in life, influencing, no doubt, his whole subsequent career.

And thus the youth entered the freshman class of Harvard College, so different then from the splendidly equipped and luxurious establishment of to-day. The bond given for the payment of dues was conditioned in the penalty of two hundred ounces of silver. Freshmen fagged under the older students, and Shaw was lucky in having his friend Parker to serve. The lean veal and sour cider of college commons left a lasting impression on his memory. Carpets in college rooms were unknown. For the first year his room was at the house of a Mr. Richard Hunnewell; afterwards in the college buildings. His conduct seems to have been exemplary; but fines began to be scored against him in his junior year. "For throwing snowballs in the college yard, twenty-five cents;" "walking on the Sabbath, one dollar," half of which was afterwards remitted; "for entering the hall with his hat on while the government were there, twenty-five cents," are among the charges. A certain amount of "exhibition" or scholarship money was allowed him. His first vacation seems to have been passed with his uncle, the doctor, who writes to his sister: —

> Your son has been with us since the commencement of the vacation, and has closely attended Mr. Web, his writing-master. Agreeable to your desire, I applied to M. Duport to teach him dancing, but he informed me that attending him five weeks only would be of no service; besides, his admission money would be the same as for others, five dollars, and half a dollar a lesson, which would make the expense for five weeks twenty dollars. On the whole, M. Duport advised him not to enter, and I fully joined with him in opinion, as Lemuel informs me they have a good dancing-master at Cambridge. ...

And from M. Desforges at Cambridge a quarter's tuition was received.

Of literary occupations while at college he thus wrote, in a letter to a classmate soon after graduation: —

I should like to know whether you have been able to carry into execution that systematic plan of literary pursuits of which you used so often to be talking. Literature in my opinion is almost the only resort of a man who wishes to render his enjoyments independent of others. You will think this a singular declaration from one who seemed to care so little for the attainment of literature while in college; but I assure you my situation is now extremely altered. There I could always find some person with whom I could pass my time agreeably away; but now, though I see many different faces, and find many with whom I could associate, yet, except a very few particular friends, none with whom I could find any enjoyment.

Of the winter vacation of 1799–1800, in which he was engaged to keep the school at Lexington for the term of ten weeks at sixteen dollars per month, with board, transportation, etc., he thus wrote: —

CAMBRIDGE, February 19, 1800.

DEAR BROTHER, — . . . I have spent the winter very agreeably at Lexington, and the acquaintance I have formed in the short time that I have taught the school there I value very highly. In your letter you inquire of me what profession I expect to pursue. It is indeed a secret which I have not yet discovered myself. It in a great measure depends upon circumstances. Perhaps you have been informed that I have some prospect of employment as assistant in one of the public schools in Boston. If I do go there to assist in a school, I shall be advantageously situated for studying law. It is a profession I must confess to which I have a partiality; but you know I was always designed for the desk. From my own observation, I am fully convinced that it is not the profession that adorns the man, but the man the profession.

While in college he was elected a member of the young Phi Beta Kappa Society, then on the footing of other college societies, and at his graduation took part in a Greek dialogue.

On leaving college, a position as usher in the South Reading School, afterwards known as the Franklin School, and standing on the site of the present Brimmer School, was obtained; and here, as he afterwards expressed it, he "worried through" a year. But though regarded by himself as a year of vexation, drudgery, and failure to maintain discipline, yet we are told that Master Bullard spoke of him in the politest manner, and said he was the best usher that was ever in the school since he knew it.

His mother, writing on February 26, 1801, says: —

> You seem to be undetermined as to the choice of a profession. I hope you will not be left to mistake your talent. I could name several that took upon them the sacred profession of divinity, their profession so far from regulating their conduct that their conduct would have disgraced a Hottentot. Others we have seen in various professions who have been an ornament to the Christian religion. I was not aware till I had just finished the last sentence that you might construe it into a discouragement of entering upon the study of divinity. This was not my intention, for I do most sincerely hope that you will make it your study through life, whether you ever preach or not. I hope you will remember that you are not to look to yourself alone, but to others also. I conceive it to be your duty to provide for yourself in that way in which you are capable of doing the most good and being the most extensively useful. In order to promote so desirable an end it may be best for you to take some more time to consider the subject, at the same time to be as diligent as health and circumstances will permit to lay up a stock of general knowledge that may be useful to you in future, let your particular calling be what it may. I hope you will not suffer yourself to give way to discouragement. Our country is very extensive; there is ample space for all good men of every profession. Seek first and principally the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof, and you need not fear but that all other things that Infinite Wisdom shall see to be best for you shall be added to you.

"You are then liberated from your hated cage," writes his college chum, Timothy Boutelle, on September 6, 1801; and about this time Mr. Shaw entered as a student the office of Mr. David Everett, a lawyer at Boston. Judge

Thomas, in his interesting notice in the Law Review for October, 1867, has spoken slightingly of this gentleman, but Dr. Hayward had a high opinion of his professional ability and character, and young Shaw felt under great obligation to him. Mr. Everett spoke of his pupil in the highest terms, and said he bade fair to make a great figure. He gave his pupil plenty to do. "You tell me," says Boutelle, in 1801, "that you expect soon to enter the lists with justice lawyers. It would gratify me indeed if I could come incog. and hear some of your frothy spoutations."

Under date of April 16, 1802, he writes his mother: —

> Court sits here next week. Mr. Everett must of course attend. The office must not be deserted. Court will continue three or four weeks. I should like to go home; but as my studies are very much interrupted by business, I must avoid all extra avocations; besides, I am now trying to make farther proficiency in the French language under the instruction of M. Renaud. Interest and inclination require that I should give it my closest attention.

The immediate result of M. Renaud's instructions was an attempt at translating a work for the press; and in December, 1802, there appeared "Proposals by Russell and Cutler for publishing by subscription a new work entitled A Political and Historical View of the Civil and Military Transactions of Bonaparte, First Consul of France. Translated from the French of J. Chas, to be put in press as soon as five hundred copies are subscribed for at one dollar." The translation was completed, but not the subscription list; though the book seems to have been not badly chosen for a venture of the kind, at a moment when the fortunes of Europe and the world were rapidly becoming identified with those of its subject. Whatever may have been the young translator's disappointment on this occasion, it was soon forgotten in the more engrossing interest of his professional studies, and in a removal to Amherst, New Hampshire, with his friend Everett, who opened an office there. At about the same time his French teacher returned to his native land, there to resume his true name of Antoine Jay, and to commence a distinguished career in politics and literature. As one of the founders of the Constitutionnel newspaper he acquired wealth, and his literary performances were rewarded with a chair in the French Academy. In the year 1841 he wrote to the Chief Justice a most friendly letter, which, as containing his reminiscences of Boston in 1801–1802, seems deserving of preservation: —

(*Translation.*)

PARIS, April 16, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — . . . I have seen the time when it would have been as easy to write you in English as in French, but that time is far distant. The English language is still familiar to me, but I no longer write or speak it with the same ease as when I counted you among my most intelligent pupils. That period has left in my memory agreeable recollections, during the course of a laborious life, which has rolled on rapidly in the midst of excitements and of the most astounding political revolutions. I have often regretted the serene days and peaceful nights of my sojourn at Boston, when I found myself so fortunate in my social and, I may venture to say, friendly relations with the most eminent men and the most respected families of your flourishing city. The American manners, then so elegant in their simplicity, agreed with my character, and it was not without effort that I tore myself, in 1803, from that hospitable land where, a poor exile, I had found sympathy and protection. To this day, in my solitary reveries my imagination retraces the places where I lived, the persons whom I knew, during my long residence at Boston. In thought I stroll through your populous streets, over your wharves piled with the products of all parts of the world. I transport myself to Beacon Hill, to enjoy the spectacle so magnificent and so varied, of your harbor and roadstead, of the islands with which it is strewn, and the numerous vessels that cover and adorn it. I have forgotten neither the promenade of the Mall, nor the cele-

> brated Dorchester Heights, nor the Mystic River, nor Bunker Hill, consecrated by the glorious deaths of the first heroes of Independence. And so, of all the works of Cooper, Lionel Lincoln is the one which I have read with most interest, and solely because Boston is the scene of action which he has chosen.

After remarks upon the future of the United States, for which he entertained fears, and upon the unsettled political condition of France, M. Jay says: —

> I know not what the future has in reserve for us, but I should not be surprised if, at my advanced age, I should be forced a second time to go and ask the hospitality of the people of the United States. Assuredly I should not hesitate a single instant to do so, and Boston would again be the place I should choose for my last asylum.

Student life in Boston was cheered by some very intimate friendships, especially by those of Eben Appleton, a brother of the more widely known Nathan and Samuel, and of John A. Cumming, of the Harvard class of 1801. For the former, afterwards long separated by his residence in the South and in England, Shaw entertained a tender affection, which he expressed in a gracefully worded obituary notice. The three "merry men," as Appleton styled himself and friends, gave each other Shakespearian nicknames, Appleton being called Falstaff; Cumming, Hal; and Shaw, Bardolph. This club of three seems to have been literary so far as contributions of prose and verse to the Commercial Gazette may entitle it to that character, and to its youthful gaiety the effervescing spirits of Appleton must have contributed the largest share. Shaw's removal to Amherst did not interrupt the intercourse or amusements of the young men. There were cultivated families there, and a good deal of young and gay society. Appleton had connections in the town, and visited there. A newspaper called the Cabinet had just been started by an enterprising young man, Joseph Cushing, who was happy to receive the communications of aspirants to authorship. Here, too, was formed an attachment, resulting in an engagement to a daughter of Major Thomas Melvill, of Boston, with whose family Mr. Shaw was ever after on the most intimate terms. This engagement was broken by the early death of the young lady. Herman Melville, the author, a grandson of Major Melvill, subsequently married a daughter of Judge Shaw.

But the dances and sleighing parties of Amherst could furnish no aid in deciding the momentous question where to go when the duly admitted counsellor-at-law should be thrown out into the world. On July 20, 1804, he writes: —

> I have thought of about fifty different places to settle in, I have calculated the advantages and disadvantages, which last indeed generally preponderate, and am still as much at a loss as ever. One thing, however, I am fully determined on, that is, not to determine at all until I have had an opportunity to consult those who feel an interest in my welfare and at the same time are capable of advising me. If I have a favorable opportunity, I think it probable I may go to Boston in the course of a few days to see my uncle whom I wish very much to converse with.

His admission to the Bar of Hillsborough County took place in September, 1804, and to that of Plymouth County, Massachusetts, in October following.

The beginning of 1805 found him in an office in Boston on Congress Street, of which he says: "The tenements in this street are not numbered, but you may easily distinguish my office by this description, 'adjoining Russell and Cutler's printing office.'" His business was, very much as he expected, very small. The tedium of waiting was alleviated that winter by the continued course of fine sleighing which he "improved considerably," and by an introduction for the first time to the

Boston Assembly, a scene of splendor and elegance, which, being attended by some very good company of his acquaintance, he enjoyed highly. Employment, however, began to come in this first year, not so profitable, however, as to render an expected vacancy in a clerkship of the New Hampshire Court unattractive to his attention and inquiries. In December he moved into the office of Mr. Thomas O. Selfridge, on the north side of the Old State House, and became very busy. On August 4, 1806, occurred the shooting of young Charles Austin by Mr. Selfridge, in whose innocence and ultimate acquittal Mr. Shaw believed from the first. "Constant employment" now became "a weight of business," for the time being at least.

But during the earlier years of his professional life, he had to struggle against a natural tendency to indolence, of which no one was better aware than himself. On March 9, 1808, he writes to his mother in apology for not writing before: "It is not to be dissembled, I cannot deceive myself in this particular, that I am under the influence of an unconquerable, or rather I hope not unconquerable, but a strong and inveterate habit of procrastinating and postponing till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day." This he accounted for on the ground of his pursuits not being of a nature to compel a regular distribution of his time. "I sometimes postpone engagements," he says, "till they accumulate and press upon me so as to produce extreme uneasiness and anxiety. I then rouse up with resolution and activity and propose a thorough amendment, and go on until I have discharged most of my obligations so as to feel at ease, and then go over the same routine. I hope and resolve to improve in this particular and establish for myself a more regular distribution of time and employment, and adhere to it with more firmness. I even have the satisfaction to think I have done something towards amendment." In the course of a tour made in 1808 through Albany, Hudson, and the State of Connecticut, he went on board of "Fulton's celebrated steamboat, a wonderful machine of one hundred and sixty feet long, calculated to accommodate eighty passengers with beds, and many other accommodations in the most splendid style."

In the year 1811, Mr. Shaw was invited to deliver the annual discourse before the Humane Society. In it he touched upon the growing philanthropy of the age, the partial abolition of the slave-trade, the prospect of a suitable asylum for lunatics, — a subject which he says had been pressed with such earnestness that cold, cautious and calculating men could not avoid suspecting some sinister purpose in it, — on resuscitation and life-boats; and indulged in the following bit of Anti-Bonapartism, none the less sincere though it was good federal politics:

> It is the misfortune of the present age to witness the most tremendous experiments upon the flexibility of human character that the world has ever exhibited. In alluding to the ferocious despotism that has desolated the fairest portions of Europe, let me earnestly hope that no party feeling will be imputed to me. God forbid that on this solemn occasion I should cherish or impart an ungenerous prejudice so inauspicious to its design. But as the humble advocate of the cause of humanity, whose interests are this day intrusted to my charge, it is impossible not to feel and it would be a dereliction of duty not to express the deepest abhorrence of a despotism equally at war with the dictates of justice, the precepts of religion, and the rights of humanity. Struggling for the preservation of life, shall we patiently see the lives of millions of innocents sacrificed without remorse to satiate the rapacity of individual ambition?

In the year 1813, Mr. Shaw became one of the original board of directors of the New England Bank and retained his office till his appointment to the Bench, acting also as counsel to that institution.

His Fourth of July Oration in 1815, delivered while the result of the last struggle of the great disturber of the world's peace was unknown to the auditors, after an historical sketch of the events leading to independence, while paying an enthusiastic tribute to the successes of our navy in the recent war, was unsparing in its denunciations of the French policy of the Democratic administrations and earnest in its warning against the dangers arising from French domination in Europe.

In June, 1816, he accompanied a party of friends, among whom were several distinguished men, including Dr. Jacob Bigelow and Dr. Francis Boott, afterwards of London, on an expedition to the White Mountains and an ascent of Mount Washington. The following letter presents a curious contrast between then and now.

CONWAY, N. H., June 30, 1816.

MY DEAR MOTHER, — The mail going only once a week from this place I know not whether this will reach you sooner than my return, but believing it possible that it may, and knowing that you will be anxious to hear from me, I shall write a short letter to take its chance. We have hitherto proceeded very pleasantly, and without any incident or impediment. We went through Concord to Hanover, New Hampshire, and joined our friends whom we found there on Tuesday. The next day proceeded forward up Connecticut River as far as Lancaster and thence in an easterly and southeasterly direction to this place, which we reached a few hours since. We have ridden for the last three days in sight of the White Mountains, of which we have had a great variety of grand and magnificent views at different points of view. We propose commencing the grand operation of ascending them to-morrow morning, and expect to be engaged the greater part of three days in effecting it. As the ascent is described to us, it will probably be attended with some considerable labor and fatigue, but not more than I had prepared myself to expect. We shall be furnished with guides and men to assist us in carrying our provisions and baggage, and shall therefore undergo as little labor as the nature of the undertaking will admit. We yesterday passed through the celebrated natural passage through the mountains known by the name of the Notch. Having always greatly admired wild mountain scenery, I expected to be highly gratified by the views which this grand and curious spot presents. But I confess the reality very much surpassed my expectations, highly as they were raised. The immense height and steepness of the adjoining mountains, the narrowness of the passage, the extreme ruggedness of the immense masses of impending and projecting rock, all together give to it a character more striking and grand than I had imagined. We have found ourselves better accommodated on the way than I expected, particularly in those remote parts of the country where there are but few inhabitants and very little travelling to encourage public houses. We are now in a more settled town at Mrs. McMillan's, where everything appears neat and comfortable. I find my companions, as I expected to do, in every respect agreeable men, equally distinguished by their intelligence, their scientific attainments, and affable manners. I have now no doubt of getting home about the time proposed, the beginning of next week. Remember me in suitable terms to all my friends, and believe me truly your affectionate son,

LEMUEL SHAW.

On his marriage in 1818 to Miss Eliza Knapp, he commenced housekeeping at Number 7 Kneeland Street, in one of a row of houses built by his father-in-law, Mr. Josiah Knapp, a well-known citizen of what was then called the South End, where he continued to reside till his removal to Sumner afterwards Mount Vernon Street, in 1831. He had previously for some time been domesticated under the hospitable roof of his intimate friends, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel P. Parker.

Of his part in the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and of his work in association with Mr. Metcalf of preparing an edition of the Statutes, Judge Thomas has sufficiently written. In regard to the charter of the City of Boston, it may be added that its author considered the election of aldermen, as representing the former selectmen, from the city at large, to be an essential feature of the system, as much so as the principle of local representation recognized in the composition of the council.

It is well known that before the manufacturing interests of New England had obtained a controlling influence in the politics of that region there were movements in favor of a free-trade policy, which were supported by a large and respectable part of the community, who did not afterwards follow the cause into the Democratic camp, where it found shelter and advocacy.' Of these friends of free trade Mr. Shaw was one, and he took an active part in promoting the doctrine. He was at the head of a committee appointed at a meeting of Boston merchants and others, held in January, 1829, in opposition to the tariff then recently established, and prepared a Memorial to Congress, which, according to the Free Trade Advocate of Philadelphia, "is written with a master's hand, and cannot fail to be admired for the force of its reasoning, the temperate language in which it is expressed, and the taste displayed in its composition."

The death of Isaac Parker, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, in July, 1830, was a very sudden and unexpected event, as he had previously enjoyed uninterrupted health, and died at the age of sixty-two, after an illness of only twenty hours. Nothing could therefore have been less anticipated than an appointment to the office thus left vacant. Around the visit of Daniel Webster, who came to persuade his acceptance of this place, Judge Thomas, following a popular tradition, has thrown a cloud of smoke, by no means unlikely to have accompanied a deliberation so profoundly serious as that in which the object of these highly flattering exertions was then engaged. But it should be added that the habit of smoking was soon after this event completely abandoned. The following memorandum and letters give the main facts of the transaction:—

Memorandum.

Whether I shall accept the appointment of Judge.

AGAINST IT: —

I shall in some measure sacrifice ease and independence; it will be more laborious. · I shall lose something in part of present emolument. I shall be more absent from my family at a time when my presence might be useful to my children. I shall miss the opportunity of travelling, of making tours and journeys, and be confined principally to the pale of the Commonwealth.

IN FAVOR: —

Although I shall have a good deal of labor I do not know that is more irksome — in many respects it is less so — than that of the Bar. There will be considerable intervals of leisure. Although the emolument will not be so great as that which I have been receiving, yet it is more regular, permanent, and secure.

At fifty the labors of the Bar begin to become irksome, and many a man who has in early life enjoyed a full practice is apt to decline after that period.

The situation is a highly honorable and useful one, which, if the duties of it are ably and acceptably discharged, will lay the foundation of an honorable lasting name.

The above "if" is with me the great cause of apprehension and alarm.

Upon this I confess I am influenced more by the judgment of others than my own. I am conscious that I cannot thus discharge the duties; they assure me that I can. I have only one consolation, that I have often thought the same in regard to other arduous undertakings and yet upon trial have found my strength equal to the occasion. If I undertake this great office, God grant it may be so here.

AUGUST 23.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am really *grieved* by your note. Would you not take the subject into consideration till to-morrow or next day and let the nomination be suspended? Yours truly,

D. WEBSTER.

To his Wife.

23d August, 1830.

My dear H., — Never have I wanted to see you so much as to-day. I am extremely perplexed by a direct offer of the office of Chief Justice. Mr. Webster called on me last evening with a message from the Governor to that effect. This morning I peremptorily declined. But afterwards I received a farther communication, and I believe the nomination is postponed till to-morrow. I have given the subject the deepest attention. The considerations are very strong on both sides. I must decide to-day. It is a most important crisis in my life. I should be extremely glad if I could have your advice. But as I cannot, must decide without. . . .

24 August, 1830.

My dear H., — The deed is now done. I have been nominated to-day by the Governor as Chief Justice, and nothing remains but to make every exertion and preparation to discharge the new and arduous duties which this office will impose.

25 August, 1830.

My dear H., — My nomination was announced in the papers this morning. I have received many congratulations on the subject. I am assured, in a manner which I believe to be sincere, that the appointment will give satisfaction. These are very gratifying proofs of confidence and regard, but those who give them know little of the solicitude and anxiety which I feel on the subject.

Chief Justice Shaw first took his seat at the September Term of 1830 for Berkshire, and then delivered an address commemorative of his predecessor, incidentally introducing an historical sketch of the constitution of the court, a useful contribution to the scanty history of our state tribunals.

His published charge to the Grand Jury for Essex in May, 1832, was the last which the Supreme Court had occasion to deliver to a Grand Jury, owing to changes in the law.

In 1834 he was called to preside at the capital trial of the Convent Rioters, whose high-handed outrage had behind it the sympathetic approval of a large but unenlightened part of the community. It is satisfactory to know that in his dealing with this and other cases where the hostility of differing religions embittered the questions at issue, he retained the confidence of all parties. On his retirement from the Bench he received a letter from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston, expressing his share in the general regret that the Commonwealth and its citizens were no longer under the protection of "the triple shield of his profound jurisprudence, his calm wisdom, and his incorruptible justice;" and, after recalling the "know-nothing" legislation of a few years previous, which had alarmed his people, he adds: —

> Allow me to say, honorable sir, that I was disturbed by no such feeling; and the reason was because I knew that the Honorable Lemuel Shaw was at the head of the Judiciary, and that despite of prevalency or power of party the cause of justice and of right was safe in his hands.
>
> To this conviction I gave utterance many a time; and I now ask permission to say the same to you, not in flattery but in the very sincerity of truth. Wishing you every blessing and happiness I beg you to accept the assurance of my most profound respect. Your obedient servant,
>
> JOHN B. FITZPATRICK,
> *Bishop of Boston.*

The salary of the Chief Justice at the time of his appointment was three thousand five hundred dollars, that of his associates three thousand dollars, and so remained till the year 1843, when the Democratic Legislature of that year, applying the pruning-knife of supposed reform, made a general reduction in the pay of State officers, not even sparing the judges. It was thought that the Chief Justice had been receiving too much by five hundred dollars, and of this amount he was to be deprived. He would have been something more than human not to have felt this keenly as a strictly personal matter, but as such he never would have brought his private feelings before the public in the shape of a formal protest addressed to the Legislature. In the vindication, however, of what he regarded as a constitutional principle he did prepare such a protest, which contained an amount of self-reference very unusual in him and presumably very little to his taste. In the manuscript draft of his reply to the Committee of the Bar, which waited upon him on his retirement from the Bench, the following passage is found, not contained in the newspaper report. If it was not then read, in all probability mature reflection induced him to leave the whole matter in oblivion, lest he might seem to be airing an old private grievance, long before amply redressed. Speaking of the "gusts and whirlwinds of political violence," he says: —

> I think I may refer without any invidious allusion to an incident which has occurred since I have held my judicial appointment. It suited the views of a dominant party to endeavor to gain favor with the people by a scheme of economy consisting mainly of the reduction of salaries and, to give it an air of impartiality, to extend it to the salaries of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court. On this occasion I prepared an address to be presented to the House of Representatives stating the reasons why it should not pass, not because it affected my interest but because it was contrary to reason and justice, to the spirit of the Constitution and, as I thought, to the best policy of the Commonwealth. It happened that I had prepared the paper on the very evening on which a stormy debate arose in the House, which resulted in the adoption of the measure. It seemed then worse than useless to address such a paper to such a body before the sober sense of the community had time to regain the ascendant. That such a time would sooner or later occur I had no doubt, and I may add that within one year the obnoxious measure was repealed.

Not only was the measure repealed but the former salaries were restored with arrears at the former rate, and until this restoration his salary in fact remained undrawn.

The address spoken of argued that the provision of the Constitution which declared that permanent and honorable salaries should be established by law for the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, which might be enlarged if found insufficient, meant a fixed compensation in money as distinguished from fees, casual profits, temporary grants, and all other varying and fluctuating modes of payment; and that the provision for an increase without mention of a diminution afforded a strong implication against any power to diminish. When, therefore, a judge had accepted an office on tenure of good behavior, to which was annexed a salary established under an express injunction of the Constitution, there seemed to be all the elements of a compact by which he was entitled to receive such salary so long as he should continue to perform all the duties of this office. In the Constitutional Convention of 1820 it had been proposed to leave the whole matter to the Legislature, also to introduce into the Constitution an express power to lessen salaries, also to fix a *maximum* and *minimum*; all which changes had been deliberately rejected. The power to fix salaries prospectively, to take effect on new appointments, was not questioned. As a matter of expediency, he then went on to say, no man is competent to be a judge, who has not been a successful practitioner, and as such able to command the highest professional rewards; and, if withdrawn from such prospects, he should receive a compensation, not indeed equal to the emolument he relinquishes, but an honorable and permanent provision sufficient to enable him to live in the society to which he has been accustomed, to support his family, and educate his children. The paper concluded with a reference to himself.

I have no hesitation in expressing my unqualified belief that during the whole period that I have been in office, my income from professional services with less arduous and continued labor would have been more than double the income I have received from the State. I may then be asked why I relinquished the higher income to accept my present office. The answer, I trust, will commend itself to every honorable and ingenuous mind. Beyond an honorable and permanent provision for support emolument is not the only good or the greatest good. I regarded the office as a highly honorable one, as much so as any to which a professional man in a free community can aspire, and one in which useful and faithful public service is duly appreciated and liberally acknowledged and rewarded. It was one which I knew had commanded the respect and affection of the people, and which I had no doubt would command their respect and affection unless forfeited by misconduct. These were my inducements for accepting the office so kindly but unexpectedly conferred upon me, and I may say with entire sincerity that though it involved some sacrifice of pecuniary interest I have never for a moment regretted it. . . .

And in conclusion I would say that I feel a deeper interest in this subject on account of its relations to the judicial establishment and the permanent character and interests of the Commonwealth than on account of the personal interest which I have in it, though it is only in consequence of having such personal interest that I should feel at liberty to address the two houses of the Legislature on the subject.

The most celebrated criminal trial over which Judge Shaw ever presided was that of Professor Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman. Time seems to have vindicated his impartiality and ability on that occasion, but at the moment he was assailed by savage attacks in the newspapers of New York and Philadelphia, and by abusive letters. This is a specimen paragraph taken from the New York Globe in relation to the so-called "infamous charge": —

Pusillanimity, or prejudice, or something worse, had swerved him from the path of judicial integrity. Out of Massachusetts,

> and out of a limited circle in it, his judicial character is prostrated, and he will be the first of American judges associated, in position and character, with the band of cruel and corrupt English judges of whom Jeffreys is foremost, and he will be without their extenuating claim of the bias and necessities of political and party requirement.

The writer was, however, wrong in his statement as to public opinion out of Massachusetts. The eminent Daniel Lord, of New York, wrote for the express purpose of assuring Judge Shaw that, among those whose judgment he would value, the conduct and result of the trial were admired as honorable to the court, the Bar, and the people of the State. He said: —

> In my recent attendance at the Court of Appeals I conversed with some of the judges, with our late Chief Justice, and with other gentlemen of the highest professional rank there as well as here, and but one opinion existed among them, — that the conduct of this trial by the court and jury had rendered Massachusetts a model to her sister States and an honor to the country.

Among the reasons which had occurred to him for declining the appointment of Chief Justice was that he would miss the opportunity of travelling, and be confined to the pale of the Commonwealth, which shows the keenness of his enjoyment of new scenes and an increased knowledge of the world. His observation was very accurate and his knowledge of localities remarkable. He had much fondness for natural history and an open mind for interesting facts in all departments of human knowledge; and for a busy professional man of his time he saw a good deal of the world. Besides journeys to Niagara and Canada and elsewhere, he visited Washington in 1841, went to Chicago by way of the lakes in 1845, and highly enjoyed a vacation in Europe in 1853. From his letters from abroad the following extracts are taken: —

Steamship Arabia, at Sea, June 20, 1853.

The retirement of the private cabin affords ample time for reflection, and the circumstances attending it constantly present subjects for reflection. Our feelings and affections for wife, children, home, and friends may be always strong, always abiding; in the ordinary events of daily life, its common and customary pursuits and occupations are so uniform and so much alike that there is nothing to call for any concentration of them to one point or any express manifestation; but on leaving home for a considerable time, and for a long distance, the heart is made conscious at once of the existence and strength of these affections, without which life would be a blank. In being made to realize that the crowning and pervading joy of life is love, and that without it imagination, learning, powers of mind are all in vain, we are made wise, and taught the true source of all happiness.

London, July 1, 1853.

. . . We have employed three days very diligently and successfully. I can hardly enumerate the things we have done in regular order. Thursday was a very busy day. Baron Alderson, to whom I had a letter from Mr. Lawrence, called on me in the evening, and informed me that the judges, by request of the House of Lords, were in attendance there, hearing a law argument, and requested us, L. and myself, to come down any time in the course of the forenoon, send in a card by the officer, and he would come and introduce us. We walked down across St. James's Park, passed through Westminster Hall, and into the House of Lords. We saw there many of the distinguished personages of the kingdom, and were introduced to several of them. . . . In the evening L. and myself went to Baron Alderson's by invitation, and there met a small party of ladies and gentlemen. The house and arrangements in all respects, and the conduct of all parties, were very much the same as we might expect at the house of a respectable family in our own place.

London, July 12, 1853.

We left London on Saturday morning for Oxford, to attend a dinner given by the High Sheriff on occasion of opening the commission for the assizes, in other words, of the courts sitting there. We had an invitation, through some of L.'s London friends, to take up our abode in one of the colleges, it being now vacation at the University. We left London between nine and ten in the morning, by railroad to Oxford, and arrived there, about sixty miles, between twelve and one o'clock. We proceeded at once to Brasenose College, where two nice college rooms had been provided for us, each with a well-furnished sitting-room and a small bed-room adjoining; but everything old, antiquated in the extreme, full as old in all its arrangements as S.'s room in Old Massachusetts. We were the guests of Mr. Chaffers, Vice-Principal of Brasenose, who was not there when we first went, but arrived in the course of the day. We, that is, L. and myself, went about and saw many of the ancient halls and colleges; and after Mr. C., our London friend, arrived, we went to many others, and visited the Radcliffe Library and Bodleian Library as places of special interest. At six o'clock we went to the dining-hall, which is a large hall belonging to the city of Oxford, and lent to the Sheriff for the occasion. The Sheriff, Mr. Morell, is a very wealthy man belonging to Oxford, and had invited the magistrates and leading men of the county, including many of the barristers in attendance on the courts, and many of the distinguished men of the University, and members of Parliament. After the cloth was removed, toasts were given and speeches made, in several of which I was alluded to as an American judge and stranger of distinction; and at last my health was drunk in such a manner that it was impossible to avoid rising to return thanks for the honor, which of course I did. What I said was received with all external marks of favor and satisfaction. In the course of the evening, before the dinner and in the hall, I was introduced to many persons of distinction, and was placed at the table between two members of Parliament. So ended the Sheriff's dinner at Oxford. The judges did not attend, it being regarded as contrary to the rules of etiquette for the judges to accept an invitation of the Sheriff.

His tour on the Continent was the ordinary but delightful one of Holland, the Rhine, Switzerland, and Paris, taken with pleasure, but with an ever-increasing desire for home, where he arrived safely, in the middle of September, there to resume his regular labors for the remaining seven years of his life.

Though not one of those precise persons whose time is exactly parcelled out, he was a continuous and steady worker, filling up all the available gaps which his engagements in court left him, in the writing of opinions, — his usual occupation of an evening continued frequently till midnight.

But while this never-ending task went on, he found much social recreation in the Friday-Evening Club, the Law Club, and the meetings of the trustees of the old Boston Library, at all of which the company sat down to a supper at about nine in the evening, a custom now almost, if not entirely, obsolete.

He was a member of many learned societies. His admission to the New England Historic Genealogical Society was as an honorary member in January 25, 1847.

In the year 1860, having then nearly attained the age of eighty, and completed thirty years of service, being in the full possession of his mental and bodily faculties, he tendered his resignation as Chief Justice. It was received with a universal expression of respect and affection from the public; and the address of a committee of the Bar of the whole State gave him the opportunity of making a farewell address, in which he feelingly acknowledged the support which his reliance on the good-will of his professional associates, the advocates at the Bar, had furnished him, and in which he left his testimony to the value of our judicial system: —

> Above all, let us be careful how we disparage the wisdom of our fathers in providing for the appointment to judicial office, in fixing the tenure of office, and making judges as free, impartial, and independent as the lot of humanity will admit. Let no plausible or delusive hope of obtaining a larger liberty, let not the example of any other State, lead you in this matter to desert your own solid ground until cautious reason or the well-tried experiments of others shall have demonstrated the establishment of a judiciary wiser and more solid than our own.

Though no warning of an approaching end had at the time of his resignation been given, it seemed afterwards as if that step had been exactly timed in view of the short season that remained to him to complete unfinished work and set his house in order. He had long been a sufferer from annual hay fever, and in the autumn of 1860 the asthmatic symptoms of that disease seemed to linger on beyond the regular period. These and other indications were not long after considered by his physicians as showing an affection of the heart, not of an immediately alarming nature. During the course of the winter he was confined to the house, and led a life of some discomfort, but not of pain, busying himself with his arrears of opinions for the Reporter and with some professional work on which his advice was sought. On the twenty-ninth of March, 1861, he drove out to take the air, and was at dinner with his family. Not long after, the wandering of his mind showed that a change had come, and after a night of disturbed sleep, he passed away, gently and without suffering, on the morning of the thirtieth. His largely attended funeral took place at the New South meeting-house, in Summer Street, on the third of April, in the midst of one of the severest snow-storms of the year. His remains are buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery.

In religious opinion he was in sympathy with the Unitarians of his day; but his religion did not express itself so much in confident assertion of what he considered the truth as in the elevation and purity of his thoughts and aims, his strict integrity, and his many generous acts of kindness. That the devotional mood was not unknown to him, however, is shown by several written prayers found among his papers. The following one was written at sea, on his voyage to Europe: —

Almighty God, maker alike of the vast ocean and of the solid land, author and creator of all worlds, I thank Thee that in the midst of the great deep I am not beyond the reach of Thy constant notice and of Thy paternal and beneficent regard; that I am permitted, humbly and with filial confidence, to approach Thee, to love Thee as a father, and to adore Thee as a God. Our Heavenly Father, the father of my human intelligent soul, who hath invested us with all the powers and faculties we possess, may we at all times and in all places, in danger as well as in safety, in sorrow as in joy, look to Thee for protection, preservation, and mercy. It is Thou, our father and preserver, who hast indued us with intelligence, filled our souls with the capacity of loving and the joy of being loved, who hast inspired us with hope. Oh, enable us, we beseech Thee, to enlarge and strengthen this hope until it shall ripen into a perfect confidence and faith in Thee and in Thy love for us.

LEMUEL SHAW

PROFESSIONAL AND JUDICIAL LIFE.

The writer has been requested to prepare a brief sketch of the "professional and judicial career of Chief Justice Shaw." The prescribed limits of this sketch will make anything beyond a general outline of the subject impossible.

The professional and judicial life of the Chief Justice extended over a period of fifty-six years, — twenty-six years at the Bar and thirty years on the Bench. His published opinions are found in fifty-five volumes of the Massachusetts Reports, beginning with the tenth of Pickering and ending with the fifteenth of Gray. These opinions are numerous and embrace every branch of the law, both civil and criminal, and many of them deal with the most important questions of Constitutional law.

Before his elevation to the Bench, he had won a reputation for that profound knowledge of the law in all its departments, which at once justified his appointment to the exalted position which had been occupied by the illustrious Parsons, and gave to the judiciary of the State a judge entitled to an equal place among the most eminent magistrates who have adorned the judicial annals of our country.

After graduating at Harvard College in the class of 1800, he devoted one year to teaching in one of the public schools of Boston. He then began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1804. He opened an office in Boston, and continued in practice there till his appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1830.

His advancement in the profession could not have been very rapid at first, as he did not argue his first case before the Supreme Judicial Court until 1810, six years after his admission to the Bar. This case may be found reported in the sixth volume of Massachusetts Reports. The amount involved was only five dollars, and the future Chief Justice lost his case; although, as the court graciously said in deciding against him, he argued "fully and ingeniously" in support of his writ of error to reverse the judgment against his client. One of his last cases before leaving the Bar, was that of Charles River Bridge *vs.* Warren Bridge, twice reported: first, in 6 Pickering; second, in 7 Pickering. This was one of the most important cases which, up to that time, had been prosecuted in our courts. The questions involved were numerous, touching the jurisdiction of the courts, the forms of procedure, the right of eminent domain, and the constitutional powers of the legislature.

The discussion of these questions before the court excited great interest and no little feeling at the time, not only among the members of the profession but throughout the State. The cause was twice argued by Mr. Shaw, with a wealth of learning and forensic ability that have been rarely surpassed. The court, then consisting of only four judges, was equally divided on the main question; but in order that the case might be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, for a final decision of the constitutional questions upon which the rights of the parties depended, the bill was by order of the court dismissed; which judgment was not affirmed by the Federal court until 1837, nearly ten years after the commencement of the suit in the State court.

The cause was first argued in the Supreme Court of the United States in 1836, and, having been held under advisement by that court for a year, was, upon a difference of opinion among the judges, ordered to be reargued, and after that only four of the seven judges concurred in the final judgment of the court. Thus five out of eleven judges sustained the view upon which Mr. Shaw originally commenced the suit. (See 11 Peters, 536.)

Between the times when the subject of this sketch argued his first modest five-dollar case and the above-named celebrated case, he was engaged in a wide and varied practice in the State courts. During the same period he often represented the town of Boston in the Legislature, and was a member when the first charter of the City of Boston was granted, and he was in fact the author of that charter.

He was a member of the house of Representatives when Judge Prescott was impeached for maladministration in his office of Judge of Probate. He was elected one of the seven managers, to represent the House in the trial of the impeachment before the Senate, and argued the cause for the prosecution in reply to Mr. Webster's argument for the defence. A competent judge of the comparative merits of the two arguments has said: "The argument of Mr. Shaw may be read immediately after that of Mr. Webster, without feeling that there is any descent. It has not the rhetoric of Mr. Webster, — eloquence, if that is a better word; but it is robust, manly sense, in clear and vigorous English. Its tone and temper are judicial, as became the speaker's position."

Besides performing his duties as a legislator with great ability and fidelity, he took an active part in the municipal affairs of the town, and repeatedly served as selectman and member of the school board. He was also one of the delegates from the town of Boston to the Constitutional Convention of 1820. He was one of the Commissioners appointed under a resolve of the Legislature to collect and edit the laws of the Commonwealth for publication, previous to the revision of 1836. He enriched the legal literature of the times by frequent contributions to the Law Magazines. In all these ways he employed his extraordinary natural endowments, and became both a profound jurist and wise man of affairs. He was intimately and thoroughly acquainted with the people and institutions of his own time, and it may with entire truthfulness be said of him, as he said of Chief Justice Parsons, that, "no person was probably more thoroughly versed in the early history, laws, institutions, manners, and local usages of the early settlers of New England; and the public are deeply indebted to him for much that has been preserved on these subjects in the reports of his judicial decisions."

Thus with a mind of great native force and comprehensiveness, furnished and disciplined in the highest and best possible manner, by study and practice, Lemuel Shaw, at the ripe age of fifty, without ever having before held a judicial office, was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and from the day he entered upon the discharge of the duties of that high office, until at the end of thirty years, still in the full possession of his mental powers, he voluntarily resigned its honors and duties, he enjoyed without interruption the profound respect and confidence of the Bar and people of the Commonwealth. This universal confidence in his judicial integrity and ability was gained and retained by a firm, fearless, intelligent, and impartial administration of justice, under the forms and in strict compliance with the rules of law; although the judgments he sometimes, as a judge, felt compelled to pronounce, subjected him to misconception and even temporary obloquy.

For while he paid due deference to an enlightened public sentiment, the passionate and unreasoning demands of popular clamor had no terrors for him, and could never silence in him the voice of conscience or the call to duty.

Rufus Choate, in his very eloquent and well-considered argument in the Constitutional Convention of 1853 in favor of an independent judiciary, while describing the qualities of a good judge, said: —

> In the first place, he should be profoundly learned in all the learning of the law, and he must know how to use that learning. . . . He is to know . . . not constitutional and statute law alone, but that other ampler, that boundless jurisprudence, the common law brought by our ancestors from England, but which in the progress of centuries we have ameliorated, and enriched, and adapted wisely to the necessities of a busy, prosperous, and wealthy community. . . .
>
> In the next place, he must be a man, not merely upright, . . . but a man who will not respect persons in judgment. . . . If, on one side, is the executive power, and the legislature and the people, — the sources of his honors, the givers of his daily bread, — and on the other an individual, nameless and odious, his eye is to see neither great nor small, — attending only to the "trepidations of the balance." If a law is passed by a unanimous legislature, clamored for by the general voice of the public, and a cause is before him on it, in which the whole community is on one side and an individual nameless or odious on the other, and he believes it to be against the Constitution, he must so declare it, — or there is no judge. . . .
>
> And finally, he must possess the perfect confidence of the community, that he bear not the sword in vain. To be honest, to be no respecter of persons, is not yet enough. He must be believed such; . . . he should be a man toward whom the love and trust and affectionate admiration of the people should flow; not a man perching for a winter and summer in our court-houses, and then gone forever; but one to whose benevolent face, and bland and dignified manners, and firm administration of the whole learning of the law, we become accustomed,

> . . . toward whom our attachment and trust grow even with the growth of his own eminent reputation.

This was at the time believed to be no ideal picture sketched from the exhaustless resources of the great orator, but a correct delineation of the character of the eminent Chief Justice, whose great reputation probably contributed more than any other thing, to prevent the disastrous change in the constitution of the court over which he presided which was favored by a majority of the Convention, but was not ratified by the people.

Judge Shaw was a magistrate of inflexible firmness and dauntless moral courage. With the loftiest sense of natural justice, and the deepest abhorrence of all wrong and oppression, he nevertheless believed it to be his duty, as a judge, to pronounce judgments in all cases according to the established law of the land, however much such judgments might be in conflict with the passions and popular sentiment of the passing day. As soon would those who knew him well, expect to see the law of gravitation changed or suspended, to save some incautious victim from a falling tower beneath which he was passing, as that the Chief Justice would attempt, in a particular case, to work out some imaginary or real equity, but which could only be done by a false interpretation and violation of the law and Constitution he had sworn to uphold and support.

His distinguished successor in office, and who had been an Associate Justice in the same court many years, has left this testimony as to his intellectual and moral qualities: —

> His greatness was the combined result of an intellect of the first order, cultivated and trained by a patient industry which never tired. He was endowed by nature with extraordinary powers; and yet they were in such just proportion and symmetry, the different faculties were so blended and harmonized, that it is difficult to designate any one which can be said to

have constituted his distinguishing intellectual character. No subject was so great as to be beyond the reach of his comprehensive grasp; no distinction so nice or minute as to elude his keen and discriminating observation: . . . capable of dealing with abstract propositions, and of discussing principles and theories without reference to their practical application, no one could more readily adapt them to the daily business and concerns of life. With a simplicity of character and truthfulness almost childlike, he united a sagacity and clear insight into motives and actions of others, which enabled him to detect deceit and hypocrisy at a glance. Firm, courageous, and inflexible, he was also gentle, affectionate, and kind. But above all he had that clear and unerring judgment, that just perception of the right, that instinctive knowledge of the true relations of things, which may be best described as good, sound, Anglo-Saxon common-sense.

There is another important element of character, which should never be overlooked in any estimate of that of Chief Justice Shaw. Mr. Webster, speaking of his great contemporary and friend, Jeremiah Mason, after the death of the latter, said: "Mr. Mason's religious sentiments and feelings were the crowning glories of his character;" and added: "*Religion* is a necessary and indispensable element in any great human character." It certainly pervaded and formed a permanent part of the character of Chief Justice Shaw. He ever maintained a devout and reverent spirit, habitually recognizing his dependence upon God. One of the first things he did, upon taking his seat for the first time upon the Bench, at the September term, 1830, in Berkshire County, was to deliver an address before the assembled Bar of that county, upon the life and character of his predecessor, Chief Justice Parker. Referring, at the close of his address, to the sudden death of Judge Parker, he said: —

May this inspire every mind with the importance of filling up life with usefulness; and by constant benevolence to man, by humble and devout piety towards God, of being at all times prepared for a like instant departure from the labors and cares and anxieties of this transitory life, to the world of rest, of peace, and hope, beyond the grave.

Thirty years afterwards, in his reply to the address of the Bar of the Commonwealth upon the occasion of resigning his office, he used this impressive language: —

> Gentlemen, in this slight retrospect of my judicial course, indeed in reviewing the whole course of my life, I desire in this solemn hour to express my sincere and devout gratitude to that benignant and overruling Providence who has crowned my days with innumerable blessings, without whose sustaining aid all human strength is but weakness, and the highest human exertions but vanity.

It cannot be regarded as irrelevant to this line of thought to notice, in passing, the remarkable coincidence in the history of human progress, that the great founders of modern science, and the great jurists and judges to whom we are indebted for the grandest systems of modern jurisprudence, were devout men. The founders of physical science, in their researches among second causes, never forgot the First Great Cause, as some of the more recent celebrities of science have done; nor did the great jurists, the founders of our jurisprudence, attempt to establish justice upon the uncertain and ever-shifting principles of a merely utilitarian philosophy, but rather upon the eternal and permanent distinctions between right and wrong, constituting the foundation of the moral law.

No adequate account can here be given of Judge Shaw's judicial labors, extending, as we have seen, through a period of thirty years, and embracing an almost endless variety of subjects. His opinions, if collected and published separately, would fill nearly or quite twenty volumes as large as the Massachusetts Reports; and it would not be difficult to compile from these opinions a treatise of rare excellence on nearly every branch of the law; for

Judge Shaw did not content himself with simply deciding the questions raised in the case, and citing authorities in support of his decisions, but by a process of original reasoning, both profound and comprehensive, reached his conclusions and vindicated their soundness. His definitions and expositions of the fundamental principles of law are as luminous and exact as the axioms and demonstrations in mathematics.

During his long term of office great and frequent changes were made in the laws, in the organization and jurisdiction of the courts, and in the forms of pleading and procedure. During the same period the great industrial interests of the State were multiplied a thousandfold, and new and difficult questions thence arising were constantly presented for the consideration of the court, whose duty it became to adjust and adapt the established principles of law to an entirely new order of things. It was then that the railroad system had its beginning, and marvellously rapid development, displacing the earlier but less efficient means of travel and transportation, and bringing along with the change the inevitable legal problems for solution by the courts, as to how the new franchise could be granted and enjoyed without unjustly interfering with or destroying vested rights acquired under the old; and it was during this period, also, that the great manufacturing enterprises in this State, having been begun a few years before 1830 under the change of policy by the Federal government in relation to the tariff, demanded the constant attention and taxed the learning of the court to settle all their conflicting claims and rights on such broad and permanent principles that capital invested and labor employed in them could clearly understand by what rules of law they were to be protected and governed.

But with his view of the common law, as expressed in the following extract from his opinion in Commonwealth *vs.* Temple, 14 Gray, it was less difficult to adapt established principles of law to new exigencies as they arose : —

> It is the great merit of the common law that it is founded upon a comparatively few broad general principles of justice, fitness, and expediency, the correctness of which is generally acknowledged, and which at first are few and simple, but which carried out in their practical details, and adapted to extremely complicated cases of fact, give rise to many and often perplexing questions ; yet these original principles remain fixed, and are generally comprehensive enough to adapt themselves to new institutions and conditions of society, new modes of commerce, new usages and practices as the progress of society in the advancement of civilization may require.

The law of Massachusetts, as now perfectly well established, by which the rights of mill-owners and other riparian proprietors to water, as a means of power and for other purposes, are determined and regulated, may be said with almost literal accuracy to be the creation of Chief Justice Shaw's judicial mind. His opinion in the case of Cary *vs.* Daniels, 8 Metcalf, is a condensed statement of the whole law on the subject. It is a piece of pure juridical reasoning from beginning to end. No authorities are cited, and none are needed; it is its own great authority. The flow of the argument is clear as a crystal stream from the mountain, and every sentence is luminous with its own light.

In a series of opinions given by the Chief Justice on the subject of taking private property for public uses, under the right of eminent domain, all the principles of that most important branch of the law are elaborately discussed, and its distinctions and qualifications clearly stated. In Commonwealth *vs.* Tewksbury, 11 Metcalf, he discusses the distinction between taking property for public use and restraining the owner from making use of his property to the injury of another or to the public detriment. In that case the defendant claimed that a penal statute which forbid his removing stones, gravel, and sand from a beach owned by him was unconstitutional, as it provided no reasonable compensation to him for thus depriving him of such use of his property as he chose to make of it; but he learned at the end of his controversy with the government that "all property is acquired and held under the tacit condition that it shall not be so used as to injure the equal rights of others, or to delay, stay, or greatly impair the public rights and interests of the community." The Chief Justice in this case, with his accustomed penetration, strikes down to the primal principles on which all property rights rest, and shows that the condition was not something superadded by the government to the estate after its acquisition by the owner, but that it was inherent in the original title; and therefore the government, by depriving the owner of the forbidden use of his property, took nothing from him for which he was entitled to compensation. In another series of decisions the Chief Justice expounds with great learning and historical research the rights of land-owners whose estates border on the seashore. In these cases he shows his entire familiarity with the early history of the colonies and their legislation. In an article published in the American Jurist of January, 1829, he discussed some of the aspects of this subject, successfully controverting the opinion expressed by Chief Justice Parsons in Storer *vs.* Freeman, 6 Massachusetts, to the effect that the vacating of the colony charter annulled the laws and ordinances passed under it, and showing that the opinion was erroneous. In another series of cases the whole system of what may be called the railroad law of Massachusetts, so far as that depends upon judicial decisions, was developed and formulated. But we can enter upon no analysis of these cases here.

Since undertaking this sketch the writer has re-examined every one of Chief Justice Shaw's opinions on questions of constitutional law, arising under either the State Constitution or that of the United States; and it seems to be hazarding but little to say that no judge of any court was ever called upon to decide a greater number or variety of this class of important causes; and that no judge, with perhaps the single exception of Chief Justice Marshall, ever discussed these questions with a greater wealth of learning, with a more comprehensive view of the whole field of debate, or with a more profound insight into the nature and structure of our complex system of government. No better statement of the subject can be found anywhere than in his opinion in the case of Commonwealth *vs.* Kimball, 24 Pickering, where he says: —

> The great and leading object of this complex system of government was to select a few great and important subjects of administration, in which all the States, and the people of all the States, had a common interest, to confide them to the general government, with all the collateral, incidental, and implied powers and functions necessary to a full and entire performance of all the duties of such a government. All other powers of sovereign government, necessary or proper to provide for the peace, safety, health, morals, and general welfare of the community, remain entire and uncontrolled to the State government.

And in the same case he declares, as a leading canon of construction, that —

> In considering the Constitution and laws of the United States and those of the several States, and deciding whether their respective provisions do come in conflict or not, and to what extent, it is proper and absolutely necessary to have a just regard to the laws and institutions of the country and of the respective States as they existed before the formation and adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and to the objects and purposes had in view by that Constitution.

And in Commonwealth *vs.* Blackington, 24 Pickering, he says: —

> In construing the Constitution of this State, it must never be forgotten that it was not intended to contain a detailed system of practical rules for the regulation of the government in after times; but that it was rather intended, after an organization of the government, and distributing the executive, legislative, and judicial powers amongst its several departments, to declare a few broad, general, fundamental principles for their guidance and general direction.

Whoever reads Judge Shaw's opinions on constitutional law will not be likely to read them aright unless he constantly bears in mind these, his cardinal rules of interpretation and construction. The candid and careful reader of his decision in the Syms case, 7 Cushing, will find that that decision is based mainly upon the historical argument, — an argument which it is far more easy passionately to condemn than to answer; and whoever will read his opinion in Commonwealth *vs.* Aves, 18 Pickering, and his powerful discussion of the Missouri question, in an article published in the North American Review, January, 1820, will not for a moment believe that his opinion in the Syms case was the result of any want of the deepest detestation of the institution of slavery or condemnation of it as the entire subversion of every dictate and right of natural justice.

His opinion in Commonwealth *vs.* Anthes, 5 Gray, as to the respective rights and duties of juries and the court in the trial of criminal cases, notwithstanding the brilliant dissenting opinion delivered by Judge Thomas in that case, has become the settled law of the Commonwealth; and the result is, we have in this respect "a government of laws and not of men;" and the right of trial by jury in this Commonwealth is to-day more secure and of higher value by reason of the great argument of the Chief Justice in its support in the case of Jones *vs.* Robbins, 8 Gray, than it would have been had the dissenting opinion in that case become the established law. And although the

Supreme Court of the United States, in a recent decision, in Hartado *vs.* People of California, 110 Otto, has given to the phrase, "due process of law," or law of the land, a construction different from that maintained by Judge Shaw in Jones *vs.* Robbins, and so apparently overruling the decision of our court so far as to hold that an information may take the place of an indictment in a criminal prosecution; yet that does not materially impair the great value of the opinion of the Chief Justice as a defence of this great safeguard of life and liberty, the trial by jury; besides the circumstances under which the two cases came before the courts were quite unlike. In the latter case, Jones had been tried upon a *complaint*, in a police court, of an offence which would subject him to an "infamous punishment;" and in the opinion of Chief Justice Shaw, the act of the Legislature which authorized such trial before a police court without a jury, and even without an information, was void as being in violation of the twelfth article of the Declaration of Rights. In the case of Hartado *vs.* California, the Federal court held that the words "due process of law," in the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States, do not necessarily require an indictment by a grand jury in a prosecution for murder. How far this decision was affected by the fact that the Constitution of California authorizes prosecutions for felonies by information, *after* examination and commitment by a magistrate, without an indictment by a grand jury, does not appear; and it is very certain that the opinion of Mr. Justice Matthews in the California case has by the force of its reasoning given no additional strength to the very able dissenting opinion of Justice Merrick in the Massachusetts case. It should be said, in this connection, that Mr. Justice Harlan did not concur in the judgment of the court in the former case, and delivered an able dissenting opinion, sustaining the views of our State court; and no sound or sufficient reason has yet been shown for a new interpretation of the "nisi per legem terræ" of Magna Charta, or our own Bill of Rights; nor any reason why the safeguards and immunities thrown around those charged with high crimes, and prosecuted with all the force of government, should be broken down or weakened.

In another important criminal cause, the judgment of the court, delivered by the Chief Justice, encountered the dissenting opinion of his venerable Associate, Mr. Justice Wilde. The case referred to is Commonwealth *vs.* York, 9 Met. The defendant was indicted for the murder of one Norton. There was plenary evidence that the defendant inflicted upon the deceased a mortal wound with a dirk-knife, which penetrated the heart. There was an attempt at the trial to show the offence was only manslaughter. The court instructed the jury upon this part of the case, that "the rule of law is, when the fact of killing is proved to have been committed by the accused, *and nothing further is shown*, the presumption of law is that it is malicious, and an act of murder. It follows, therefore, that in such cases the proof of matter of excuse or extenuation lies on the accused; and this may appear either from evidence adduced by the prosecution, or evidence offered by the defendant." This instruction was claimed by the defendant's counsel to be erroneous, and was made the basis of a motion for a new trial; and it was upon this motion that the judgment of the court and the dissenting opinion were given. The rule of law laid down by the court was claimed to be erroneous, because, as was said by the defendant's counsel, it cast upon the defendant the burden of *disproving* malice, which is an essential element of murder, and it is the duty of the prosecution to prove every part of the offence beyond a reasonable doubt. The fallacy of the counsel's argument and of the dissenting opinion arises entirely from a misinterpretation of the instructions given to the jury. The court nowhere intimates that the burden is not upon the prosecution to make out every part of the case, by proof of the guilt of the defendant beyond every reasonable doubt. On the contrary, the court assumes that to be the rule, and that the burden of proof upon the issue of guilt or innocence never changes. What the court says, and what the Chief Justice in his very thorough discussion of the subject insists upon, is, that if the fact of killing is clearly proved, and nothing else appears,—no explanation, no qualification, of the act is shown, either by the defendant or in the evidence of the prosecution,—that in itself proves the killing to have been malicious. But if the accused sets up in his defence matter of excuse or extenuation, as that the killing was accidental, in self-defence, or in the heat of blood, the burden of proof upon the issue thus raised is upon him. A careful study of this opinion of the Chief Justice will show that it is supported both by reason and authority. At the close of the opinion he says: "The crime, the *corpus delicti*, is to be proved beyond reasonable doubt, otherwise the accused is entitled to an acquittal. The jury must be so instructed, and were so instructed in the present case. If the homicide was proved beyond reasonable doubt, and no fact of extenuation came out with the proof of the homicide, then the offence of which the party was convicted was proved beyond reasonable doubt; and the doubt arises only in regard to a fact which was alleged by the accused in extenuation, but not proved." This is and has been the law, not only in cases of homicide, but in every other species of criminal prosecution. The principles laid down in the York case were applied by the Chief Justice in the more celebrated Webster trial, and for this he at the time received, from some not well-informed sources, a measure of unfriendly and unjust but harmless criticism.

It would be a grateful task to follow the footsteps of the great Chief Justice farther along the heights of our ever expanding jurisprudence, and to note his large and liberal contributions to this proud and noble system of law, developed under free institutions, by and for a free and intelligent people. It is said by the incomparable historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, that "the laws of a nation constitute the most important part of its history;" and that part of history, it may truly be said, is not made by warriors, diplomatists, or politicians, but by the great jurists of the nation who preside over its courts, and by their writings give form and character to its jurisprudence.

But this sketch, necessarily brief, would be altogether too incomplete if closed without stating the fact that Judge Shaw was quite as well qualified to preside at a nisi prius term as at the head of the full court sitting as a law court, and that he was all the better fitted for the latter duty by reason of his familiarity with the former. One of his most accomplished Associates during the last years of his judicial life has said: —

> The province of a judge is to find and apply to the varied exigencies of life and business, not an abstract, but the practical, working rule. The skill, discretion, and tact requisite to do this well are the fruit of business training got either upon the bench or before one gets there. Hence it is that some labor at nisi prius — the putting the rules of law into harness, and seeing just how they will draw — seems to be indispensable, not merely to the making, but to the preservation of a good judge. A court without experience in trials gets to be practically, as well as technically, a court of *errors*.

At the time Judge Shaw first took his seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, that court had, besides its original jurisdiction, a large appellate jurisdiction in both civil and criminal causes. This appellate jurisdiction in criminal matters was abolished in 1839, and that in civil matters in 1840; but the nisi prius business in the Supreme Court continued to a very considerable extent so long as Judge Shaw remained at the head of that court.

The equity jurisdiction of the court, very limited at first, was, during the thirty years of Judge Shaw's service on the bench, enlarged from time to time, by acts of the Legislature; though the act granting full equity jurisdiction to the court was not passed until 1857, only three years before the resignation of the Chief Justice. All prior acts contained grants of specific and limited equity powers, thus increasing the difficulty of the task imposed upon the court, of establishing rules and a system of practice that should not be in conflict with the statutes, and at the same time should be, to the extent of the jurisdiction granted, in harmony with the general principles of chancery practice. But no one knew better than the Chief Justice did that the fundamental principles of law and equity are the same; and with his thorough mastery of those principles, he followed without difficulty and met every new demand arising from the progress made by legislation in this most important jurisdiction, both in its theories and practice; and when the judicial history of Massachusetts shall be fully written, and doing full justice to his very learned and able associates, it will still appear that Chief Justice Shaw, in this department of the law as well as in every other, did more than any other man of his time to render life, liberty, property, and reputation secure in the Commonwealth that trusted him with her highest honors for nearly a third of a century, and whose honor was ever safe in his keeping.

DANIEL APPLETON WHITE

William White emigrated from the county of Norfolk, England, and was one of the leading people of Ipswich and of the founders of Newbury, Massachusetts. He removed to Haverhill in 1640, being one of the grantees of the Indian deed of that territory, where his descendants have ever since maintained an honorable position. Although the ancestor of a numerous posterity, the line hung by a single thread until the year of his death at the age of eighty, his son John [2] having died before him in 1668–1669, leaving his only son John,[3] a child four years old, to the grandfather's care. The grandson, however, was the father of fourteen children, his son William [4] the father of eleven, and his son John [5] of seventeen ; the sixth son and eleventh child of John being Daniel Appleton [6] White, the subject of this memoir. His father John,[5] born February 7, 1719–1720, died at Methuen July, 1800, married first, Mrs. Miriam (Hoyt) Hazen ; secondly, February 18, 1767, Elizabeth Haynes, born March 21, 1748, died April 16, 1836. Mrs. White was the seventh of the twenty-three children of Joseph Haynes, the grandson of Jonathan Haynes of Haverhill, who was "slain by the Indian enemie," February 22, 1698, having been taken prisoner with his son Thomas, a boy of sixteen, while working in the field. The boy, being exchanged after two years' captivity in Canada, returned to Haverhill, bringing a curiously carved staff which his Indian master gave him "for his good behavior"; and became the ancestor of many descendants, living himself to the age of ninety-one. This staff is now in the cabinet of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

As an unusual instance of close family intermarriages it may be mentioned that the paternal grandmother of the subject of this memoir was Sarah Phillips, a sister of the Rev. Samuel Phillips of Andover, who himself married a sister of her husband, while still another sister of Mr. Phillips married another brother of his wife.

Daniel Appleton White was born June 7, 1776, on the day, as he always loved to remember, when Richard Henry Lee moved the Declaration of Independence. He passed the first sixteen years of his life on his father's farm, in what was then a part of Methuen. In later years, having become the owner of a considerable portion of this, he sold over seventy acres in 1845 to the agent of the Essex Company, as a part of the lands which they were acquiring for manufacturing purposes. These acres are now at the heart of the city of Lawrence. An interesting picture of this spot, as it appeared at the close of the Revolution, and again shortly before its quiet fields began to be transformed into a buzzing hive of industry, is given in an autobiography which he wrote for his children in 1836.

> The situation is upon a broad plain, nearly equidistant from the Merrimack and Spicket rivers. My father's farm was bounded south on the former, and north on the latter river, — a noble farm of nearly three hundred acres, abounding in wood and rural scenery, in fruits, such as strawberries, blackberries, etc., with a fine orchard of apples at that time in the great pasture, now wholly gone. The prospect all around us was far more picturesque and beautiful than since the woods have been cleared away. . . . The rural beauties of my father's farm, especially the part of it lying between the main road and the Merrimack, consisting of almost every variety of meadow and upland, pasture, mowing and woodland, with running brooks, can hardly be imagined by one who sees it now, stripped bare

> of its grandest foliage, cut up by turnpikes, and made a public thoroughfare by the roads passing through it and the bridge over the Merrimack, which was first built the year I entered college. A great variety of birds haunted this then retired and attractive spot, and afforded some of the most interesting pleasures of my boyhood; nutting and other fruit-gathering are remembered too as among my dearest amusements. The sweetest reminiscences of my early life are connected with this period, when innocence and simplicity were my companions, and gave a charm to all my pleasures and pursuits, and were preserved by the free range I enjoyed among the most attractive objects and scenery of nature. Innocence and simplicity had not deserted me certainly, when at the age of sixteen I left home for the academy and the college.

The home was an ideal New England country home, abounding in comfort, plenty, intelligence, and affection. An account of the life and manners here, giving a pleasing picture of the interior of country homes of the better class in Massachusetts a hundred years ago, may be found in the memoir of Judge White by the Rev. George W. Briggs, D. D., published in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute for 1864. In this propitious atmosphere, with a mind susceptible to the impressions of natural beauty and eager for knowledge, and a heart tender toward God and man, with a pure soul and a high conscience, Daniel grew up less sturdy than his brothers, but with so strong a bent for study that his father, notwithstanding the expenses of his large family, consented to give him a college education.

In June, 1792, he entered the Academy at Atkinson, New Hampshire, and Harvard College in the Freshman class of 1793, having completed his preparation in seven and a half months of actual study, during which he applied himself from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. His father's parting words to him were: "Keep none but good company, and you will have none but good company to keep."

Measured by the standard of comparison afforded by its own condition at the present day, Harvard College in the last years of the eighteenth century was a small affair. The boy who came for examination in the summer of 1793 crossed the Common, swarming with the tents and booths of Commencement Day, and found the college yard still marked with the scars of its occupation by the Revolutionary army, while the only buildings in use, Massachusetts, Hollis and Stoughton halls, bore the traces of their occupation as barracks; but it was the chief seat of learning in America, and its air breathed an aroma to the youth to whom it was destined to be one of the chief interests of life. At this period the college was deeply stirred by the French Revolution, to which he always imputed "most of the infidel and irreligious spirit which prevailed at that period among the students." Dangerous drinking customs were also prevalent, with disastrous effects, it not being unusual for nearly a fourth of the members of a class to fall victims in later life to the habit then formed. Insubordination and turbulence were rampant. In such a school the virtue which did not succumb was trained to hardy strength. Young White developed a character manly, temperate, serious, with decided convictions on the great questions of religion and of politics; willing if necessary, to face opposition; able to persuade his class to relinquish a favorite scheme of resistance to the college government; a leader and friend of the best. His class was one of unusual talent. It contained such men as the Hon. Horace Binney, the head of the Philadelphia Bar, whose distinguished career in Congress would have led to the highest political distinctions if he had been willing to remain in public life; the Rev. William Jenks, D. D., Prof. Asahel Stearns of the Cambridge Law School, Chief Justice Richardson of New Hampshire, and Dr. John C. Warren of Boston. A hard student, but keenly enjoying the pleasures and friendships of college life, Mr. White was repeatedly chosen by his classmates orator on various occasions; and at graduation in 1797 took the highest honors of his class. His inclination was strongly to the choice of the ministerial profession, for which his tastes and habits as well as his deeply religious nature qualified him in an unusual degree, and to which his affection always turned. But he was deterred from this partly by the fact that his opinions were not in accord with those of his loved and revered parents, who were leading members of the Baptist communion, and partly by his strong dissent from the prevalent Calvinism for which the Congregational churches stood. This dissent had come by a natural and healthy process of growth from early childhood, and at Cambridge he had been in substantial sympathy with the religious opinions which found their home in that congenial atmosphere. Of the future leaders in the Unitarian movement, Dr. Kirkland was his college tutor, while Dr. Channing was a member of the class below him and was his friend. In that theological discussion which was to divide the established churches of Massachusetts, Mr. White was to be not only an interested spectator but a life-long participant, as a layman, however, and not as a clergyman. While to some in the present generation the movement of what is known as "Liberal Christianity," in the early part of this century, is a return to pure and simple religion, to others, doubtless, it appears a dangerous divergence into religious error; but no candid mind can refuse to recognize the seriousness and sincerity of its laity, the scholarship on which their convictions were based, the moral and religious weight of character which made it an exceptionally noble body of men. Among these Mr. White was destined to hold a prominent place as a member of what Dr. Kirkland called "the unsectarian sect."

Although he decided at graduation to embrace the law, a considerable interval was destined to elapse before he entered on his profession. Meantime, in order not to depend further on his father's generous kindness, and to repay a part of what he had received from it, he taught the public grammar-school at Medford for two years, — that school of character which has been of priceless value to many New England men. Here he was fortunate, especially in the friendship of the Rev. Dr. Osgood of that place, who would have been a man of mark in any community. Returning to Cambridge in August, 1799, to pursue the study of the law, he was appointed tutor in Latin in the following November. "Beginning with 1794, in July, there had been five tutors in this department in succession before the appointment of Mr. White. It was a fortunate day for the College," says Professor Sidney Willard, who was thoroughly conversant with it at that period, "when the Corporation succeeded in appointing a man so well fitted for the office, who was willing to remain in it long enough to give to it additional importance by his experience in teaching." The position of tutor was then one of large responsibility, both in teaching and in government. The length of Mr. White's residence, "together with his decided academic tastes and aptitudes," is testified by President Walker, in his Memoir of Judge White, published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1863, to have "made his influence to be felt in college affairs in an unusual degree, and on the right side." At a period when there was an almost impassable wall of separation between instructors and pupils, he won the affection as well as the respect of the students, especially of the class of 1802, whose "particular tutor" he was, and with whom he maintained a lifelong friendship. It was a "day of small things" in the college, but not of small men. The little group of professors and tutors were earnest in the literary plans which resulted in 1804 in the publication of the Literary Miscellany, the forerunner of American periodical literature; which soon gave way to the Monthly Anthology. To this Mr. White was one of the contributors.

In 1800 he delivered a Eulogy on George Washington, by the request of the inhabitants of Methuen, which was published.

During the four years in which he continued as tutor, he had pursued the study of the law at Cambridge with Mr. Joseph Bartlett and Mr. Francis Dana Channing; but in September, 1803, he resigned his tutorship and removed to Salem to complete his professional studies in the office of Mr., afterwards Judge, Samuel Putnam. Here he found his college friend of the class of 1796, Mr. John Pickering, subsequently distinguished as an eminent classical and philological scholar, who had returned from passing some years abroad as Secretary of Legation at Lisbon. The tastes of both inclined them to a larger measure of devotion to letters than is usually favored by that severe task-mistress the Law, and one of the results of their companionship was the joint preparation of an edition of Sallust. It was hailed by the Rev. J. S. Buckminster, in the Monthly Anthology, "as a memorable fact in the annals of our literature," as "the first edition of an ancient classic ever published in the United States which was not a professed re-impression of some former and foreign edition." This was printed in Salem in 1805, but unfortunately the sheets were destroyed by fire on the eve of publication.

In June, 1804, Mr. White was admitted to the Bar, opening an office in Newburyport, where he quickly became a successful practitioner and was speedily honored with public trusts and duties. In 1805 he delivered an Address to the Members of the Merrimack Humane Society, which was printed. On May 24, 1807, he was married to Mrs. Mary Van Schalkwyck, born October 8, 1780, daughter of Dr. Josiah Wilder of Lancaster, a graduate of Yale College in 1767, who died in 1788, a descendant in the fifth generation from Thomas Wilder of Charlestown, who settled in Lancaster in 1654. This lady was the widow of a French planter of Guadeloupe, who had won her affections while in this country as an *emigré* during the early years of the French Revolution, and who had died shortly after their marriage. In the sketch of her stepfather, Dr. Isaac Hurd, by the Hon. E. R. Hoar, in The Centennial of the Social Circle in Concord, 1882, we are told that, "before her first marriage, and during her widowhood, Mrs. Schalkwyck was the most distinguished of all the young ladies of Concord for beauty, grace, and sprightliness. She was the belle of the village; and the fascination of her manners and conversation . . . has come down as a beautiful tradition to later times." The happiness of this union was, however, of short duration, as it was terminated by the death of his wife on June 29, 1811.

Of the three children of this marriage, Mary Elizabeth, born March 27, died October 8, 1808; Elizabeth Amelia, born May 4, 1809, married William Dwight, Esq., of Springfield, September 16, 1830, and died March 4, 1883; Mary Wilder, born December 12, 1810, married the Hon. Caleb Foote of Salem, October 21, 1835, and died December 24, 1857.

In this bereavement Mr. White found consolation in the devoted care of his two daughters, and occupation in the political duties which divided his attention with his professional cares.

A strong Federalist of the school of Washington and Hamilton, whom to his dying day he acknowledged as his only political leaders, Mr. White had already become prominent in the discussion of public affairs, and from 1810 to 1815 he was a member of the Massachusetts Senate from the Essex district. No more exciting time has ever occurred in the politics of the State than during those years which immediately preceded and included the second war with Great Britain. The sweeping triumph of the Democratic party left the Federalists for a time powerless to do more than criticise its course. Mr. White was one of the younger members of the Senate, but took a leading part in this work. Professor Willard, a contemporary, records in his Memories of Youth and Manhood, that "he conducted himself in the debates with great dignity and parliamentary decorum; but when occasion called for it, and his adversary exposed himself by arrogance or inconsistency, or blunders combined with both, his rebukes were worded with peculiar aptness, and sustained with great power and pungency."

An instance of his felicity in debate is preserved by tradition. When the act incorporating the American Board of Foreign Missions was under discussion in the Senate, an opponent of the measure urged that "we did not have religion enough ourselves to justify us in sending any of it away." "Not so," replied Mr. White; "for religion is one of those commodities of which the more you export, the more you will have at home."

On the return of his party to power, he was assigned a prominent place on the most important committees; and as chairman of a joint committee of the Senate and House to which were referred numerous memorials setting forth the wrongs done by the general government, and urging the necessity of concerted action by the State legislatures, it fell to him, in February, 1814, to utter the opinion of the wisest leaders of his party, claiming the right of such action, but considering it "inexpedient at the present moment to exercise this power." The pressure of the popular sense of wrongs was so great, however, as to lead to the holding of the much maligned Hartford Convention; and as chairman of a similar committee of the legislature, in January, 1815, to whom the report of the proceedings of this famous assembly had been referred, Mr. White set forth the expediency of such a convention and the wisdom and ability of its deliberations. In truth, its object was to keep the New England States in the Union, not to alienate them from it; and there was simple justice in his statement that "while they maintain the principle of State sovereignty, and of the duties which citizens owe to their respective State governments, they give the most satisfactory proofs of attachment to the Constitution of the United States and to the national union." It may be added here, that Mr. White was chosen by the legislature a presidential elector in 1816, at the period when that position was more than a formal honor.

His public services had now opened the way to a more conspicuous public station. Being nominated for Congress as the Federal candidate in the Essex north district, he was elected by an almost unanimous vote, in November, 1814. With the confidence of his party as a wise and trusted leader, with such an unusual expression of the general regard of his constituents, in the prime of life, and with eminent qualifications in character and capacity for responsible trusts, he seemed to be on the threshold of a distinguished career, when, after his trunk was packed for the journey to Washington, the offer by Governor Strong, of the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Essex, altered the course and complexion of his life. Not without hesitation and against the judgment of many of his friends, he decided to accept the useful but quiet path of life which thus invited him, and, without taking his seat, resigned his commission as Representative in the spring of 1815. In this unusual act of political abdication Mr. White was influenced by several considerations. The strong and lofty personal independence which was a marked trait in his character probably made him aware of the difficulty of sustaining satisfactory party relations, even where party loyalty was so genuine as in his case; and this conviction may well have been borne in upon his mind by the retirement of his friend, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, from his distinguished career at Washington, for this cause. The circumstances of his domestic life were, however, the controlling cause, as a residence at the seat of government involved separation from his young, motherless children. His academic life at Cambridge, also, had increased his natural bent toward the literary opportunities and learned leisure which were incompatible with the busy cares of a lawyer in large practice or with political station. The great unworldliness and simplicity which marked his character, blended with a calm wisdom which enabled him to estimate the brilliant prizes of life solely with reference to their power to produce real happiness and to give opportunities of real usefulness, were doubtless increased by the chastening influence of sorrow upon a deeply religious nature. It must be held, too, that in putting aside the large opportunity which opened before him, an undue modesty prevented him from fully appreciating his own exceptional qualifications for high public service, and that in so far his friends were right in thinking that he made a mistaken choice.

He does not seem himself, ever to have regretted his decision; and certainly the way of life which he had chosen gave him the opportunity of showing to an unusual degree how much happiness and dignity and usefulness there can be in the life of a private citizen. His appointment at this time, in June, 1815, by the New Hampshire legislature, as chairman of a committee to investigate the difficulties in Dartmouth College, showed the estimation in which he was held beyond the limits of Massachusetts.

The position of Judge of Probate has, indeed, a more important relation to the welfare of the whole community than is often understood. In the thirty-eight years for which he held the office, nearly every estate in the county passed under his judicial administration; and when he retired from his trust, it was with the universal expression of public respect and confidence.

It was his lot, however, to experience at the beginning the uncertainty and the valuelessness of popular favor. The methods of business in some of the probate courts of the State were at that time antiquated, loose, and careless; and this was particularly the case in the Essex court, where it was generally understood that Judge White would introduce needed reforms. On investigation, he found it to be his duty to make many changes; and although these were solely for the purpose of insuring purity and faithfulness in the administration of justice, they could not fail to be misunderstood by those who had become habituated to more easy and negligent methods, especially as they caused some expense and delay. In 1821, accordingly, a memorial was addressed to the legislature, by sundry individuals, complaining of the fees of the probate office, and also that the Judge and Register "have refused to give to applicants the requisite and necessary information respecting the settlement of estates." To the feeling which led to this memorial, the rancor of yet fresh political hostilities doubtless added heat and flame; nor was the course pursued by the House of Representatives free from a partisan taint. A special committee was appointed, which held an ex-parte investigation, examining only the witnesses named by and on behalf of the memorialists, and not giving the officers accused any opportunity of vindicating their conduct. Notwithstanding this, however, the committee were compelled to report in approbation of the services performed by the Probate Court, as being "some of them expressly required by different statutes, others by the Supreme Court adjudged to be necessary, and, as far as they could find, all of them useful." This report was unanimously adopted by the legislature.

Judge White was not the man, however, to let the matter stop here with his personal vindication. He published a little work in 1822, entitled, A View of the Jurisdiction and Proceedings of the Courts of Probate in Massachusetts, with Particular Reference to the County of Essex, with the characteristic motto in Washington's words, "Keep them strictly to forms, and to their duty, and they will be regular; but relax a little in any case, and they will look for it in all." In this carefully prepared work, which became, as it was intended to be, an authoritative treatise on the subject, he gave an historical account of the course of probate law and procedure under the Colonial, Provincial, and State governments; an account of the former practice in Essex County, of the changes introduced, and the reasons for them, with full justification from the statutes and judicial reports of the Commonwealth; concluding with a dignified and just animadversion upon the proceedings of the House of Representatives respecting his official conduct. The result of the whole business was, as might be expected, that the reforms which he had introduced were adopted in the courts of other counties, while fixed salaries were substituted for fees; and that his own fidelity and justice in the administration of his duties won the respect and honor of the whole community.

This attack had been the more injurious infliction upon his sensibility from its coincidence in time with a severe bereavement. He had removed from Newburyport to Salem in 1817, and on August 1, 1819, had married Mrs. Eliza Wetmore, born May 10, 1784, widow of William Wetmore, Esq. (H. C. 1797), and daughter of William Orne, Esq., a prominent Salem merchant, descended from John Horne, the first deacon of the First Church, 1629–1684. Mrs. White blended to an unusual degree loveliness and strength of character, which with her unselfish and generous use of the opportunities of fortune made her greatly beloved, so that her early departure was widely lamented; for this union, which brought peculiar happiness to a family life that had long been shadowed, was speedily broken by her death, March 27, 1821, leaving an infant son. This son, the Rev. William Orne White (H. C. 1840), minister of the "Keene Congregational" (Unitarian) "Society" in Keene, New Hampshire, from 1851 to 1878, now resides in Brookline, Massachusetts. The beautiful home which Judge White had entered on his second marriage was presided over for a time by a favorite niece who was to him as a daughter, and who soon became the wife of the Rev. William B. O. Peabody, of Springfield.

The subsequent marriage, on January 22, 1824, of Judge White to Mrs. Ruth Rogers, widow of Abner Rogers, Esq. (H. C. 1797), and daughter of Joseph Hurd, Esq., of Charlestown, a distinguished merchant, descended from John Hurd, of Boston, began a union which was only broken by his own death. Three sons were the children of this marriage, of whom two died in infancy (Francis Higginson, born August 29, 1826, died April 8, 1827; Charles Hazen, born October 22, died October 23, 1827); while the eldest, Dr. Henry Orne White (H. C. 1843), is a physician residing in Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin. The daughter of Mrs. White by her first marriage became the wife of the Rev. John H. Morison, D. D. (H. C. 1831), now senior pastor of the First Congregational Church in Milton, Massachusetts. To the home whose sorrowful breaches were thus repaired Mrs. Ruth Hurd White brought social gifts and literary culture which enhanced the charm of its abounding hospitality, in which she gladly shared. Born April 18, 1784, Mrs. White survived her husband till November 28, 1874, when she died at her daughter's home in Milton, at the great age of ninety years and seven months, in the undimmed possession of gifts and graces which were endowed with perpetual youth.

The life of Judge White from this period, while full of useful and happy occupation, was removed from such public service as befits this record, though always busy with public and philanthropic objects. To Harvard College he was a devoted son, serving unweariedly on the Board of Overseers and various committees of the University, and taking especial interest in the Divinity School, in the establishment of which he rendered important services. The college gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1837, and in 1844 he delivered the Address before the Alumni of his alma mater. In the first establishment of lyceums in this country, when the system of public lectures was introduced with high hopes of their educational and moral influence, he took a prominent part; was chosen President of the Essex County Lyceum, and gave an address at its first annual meeting in 1830; and was first President of the Salem Lyceum, and one of its three trustees until his death. In the temperance reform and the effort to discourage the use of tobacco he took a deep interest, being one of the earliest to give up the use of wine, at that time universal in polite society, though he was too just and too wise to believe in legal enactment as a main reliance rather than the private conscience.

When the movement in favor of substituting cemeteries for the cheerless and forbidding places of burial customary in New England led to the establishment of Harmony Grove Cemetery in Salem, in 1840, he was selected to give the address. In the cultivated society of that remarkable group of men who gave a special character to Salem, he was a valued member, and his tributes to two of them — to Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, in an eulogy given by request of the city government of Salem, in 1838, and to the Hon. John Pickering, in an eulogy given at King's Chapel, Boston, before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in 1846 — bore the testimony of personal friendship to those distinguished men. The addresses on these various occasions were all published at the time of their delivery.

His fondness for books found abundant gratification in the noble library which he gathered around him, rich especially in the ancient classics, historical works, and English belles-lettres; and in the society of these "silent friends" he always found the best company. Yet he was far from leading the life of a recluse scholar. His delightful home was the centre of a wide hospitality, and opened a generous welcome to visitors from far and near. He had, indeed, "a genius for friendship," which did not confine itself to the living or to those whom he had personally known. Hence came a loyalty to the fathers of New England which colored his favorite studies, and gave a direction to his chief literary labors. Although circumstances had prevented him from following his early preference for the profession of the Christian ministry, the study of theology continued with him more than a taste or a pleasure: it was a passion; and in the group of deeply read and religious-minded laymen who were the living core of the theological movement with which he was identified, there was probably no one more learned than he in all that pertained to the knowledge of the Scriptures. In the theological discussions which engaged the two branches of the Congregational body he took an active part with his pen. Devoutly believing in the Divine authority of the Christian revelation, he believed also with his entire soul in the liberty of Protestant Congregationalism as a priceless legacy from the fathers of New England; and whenever this seemed to him to be attacked, or their opinions on this subject were disputed, he was unwearied in setting the error right. During thirty years he devoted to this subject, in pamphlets and newspaper articles, as well as in a larger work, labor which would have sufficed, if concentrated, to produce an enduring literary monument. In 1832 he published an elaborate study of it in the "Correspondence between the First Church and the Tabernacle Church in Salem, in which the Duties of

Churches are Discussed, and the Rights of Conscience Vindicated;" and the closing months of his life were largely absorbed in the preparation of a volume on New England Congregationalism in its Origin and Purity, which was published just before his death, in 1861. This work was chiefly compiled from his occasional writings on various branches of the theme, its main object being to prove that the "first covenant" of the First Church in Salem was the sole basis of fellowship, as against a modern school of historical writers who have maintained that there must also have been a creed. To Judge White's mind this was not a mere antiquarian question, nor did it involve any doubt of the genuine Calvinism of the fathers; it was a question of the spirit which was in them and which they bequeathed; and his argument has been accepted as conclusive by the best historical students of the subject.

In every fibre of his being, Judge White was pervaded by public spirit. As a legal adviser, it was his fortune to influence others in making wise and large benevolent gifts; particularly in the case of Miss Caroline Plummer, whose endowment of the Plummer professorship at Cambridge was due to his advice, and of whose family he published a Brief Memoir, with Historical Notices relative to the gift of Plummer Hall, in 1858. What he inculcated on others, he himself practised in bountiful measure. Although possessed of only moderate means, his simple personal tastes, which were even severely abstinent except in the luxury of books, allowed him to exercise a large and constant generosity, always taking his full part in public subscriptions, and overflowing in private charities. Two gifts ampler than are sometimes bestowed by men of far larger estate, remain to "keep his memory green." As president of the Essex Institute from its formation in 1848 until his death, he had taken a deep interest in its methods of usefulness, and to its library he gave the greater part of his own books, amounting in all to over eight thousand volumes and ten thousand pamphlets.

The other public gift perpetuates his memory on the spot where he was born and to which his affection always turned. He had consulted some of the principal inhabitants of Methuen, before the division of the town, about establishing a public library there, but had not seen a sufficient prospect of co-operation to induce him to proceed in the design. When the town of Lawrence concentrated the interest pertaining to his native place, he desired to do something to promote the improvement of its numerous population.

In view of the largeness and permanent importance of this benefaction, it will not be out of place to narrate it in some detail.

In selling to the Essex Company the portion which he owned of his father's noble farm, which he was induced to dispose of for this purpose, at a very moderate price, from his interest in seeing so large a project of public benefit carried out on that spot, he had reserved six acres, including a family burial lot, with the restriction that it should not be built upon without the consent of the Essex Company. With this consent, in 1852, he vested the property in three trustees, with the condition that they "shall, as soon as conveniently may be, cause the said burial-place, with a space of ground not less than ten feet wide around the same, to be properly enclosed and ornamented with trees and shrubs, and shall cause the part so enclosed to be forever kept open, and shall never suffer or permit any building to be placed thereon, or any erection upon the same, other than suitable monuments to the memory of the dead; and further, that they shall suffer and permit the descendants of the late John White to pass to and from the same, and to use such part as they may be legally entitled to, as and for a family burial-place, if they shall please."

The trustees were further authorized to give, if deemed expedient, a lot of land for a public library, and to dispose of the remaining land, under such restrictions as might be required by the president of the Essex Company, the moneys arising therefrom to be invested until the income should be sufficient for the following objects: —

1. For the establishment and support of a course of not less than six lectures to be delivered annually, "with a special design to enlighten the mind and elevate the character of the young of both sexes by imparting to them a full knowledge of their true interests, with a deep conviction of the importance of early cultivating those virtues, habits, and principles which constitute excellent character, and furnish the most reliable resources for their advancement and success in life." The subjects prescribed for these lectures were as follows: "On the importance of a good character to success in life: on the unsurpassable value of the riches of character to the young of both sexes; on their ability to possess such riches, if they will, and with them to attain all that is needful of the less durable riches, and all that is most desirable of human enjoyment; on the virtues, habits and principles most essential to good character; on the wisdom of giving an early and earnest attention to the cultivation and practice of these; and generally on the best means of intellectual, moral, and Christian improvement. And I direct that the said lectures shall be free to all of the industrial classes, and more especially to the young; but in respect to others, subject to such regulations as the said trustees may see fit to prescribe."

2. In case the whole income should not be needed for these lectures, a surplus might be expended on books for a public library, "the said trustees in the purchase of books for the said library to select those of sound moral tendency, and to have especial reference to the wants of the young, and of the industrial classes."

3. He further directed that any surplus might accumulate; or be applied "in such manner as they, in the exercise of a sound judgment and discretion, shall consider best adapted to promote the moral, intellectual, and Christian advancement and instruction of the inhabitants of the town of Lawrence, earnestly requesting the said trustees constantly to bear in mind that the great object intended to be promoted and accomplished is the education and training up of the young in habits of industry, morality, and piety, and in the exercise of true Christian principles, both in thought and action."

In these provisions, thus earnestly insisted on, Judge White unconsciously revealed the controlling principle of his own lofty and conscientious character; and did what he could to aid the growth on his native spot of earth, under the new conditions of its crowded population, of the habits and virtues which had been reared there when it was his father's farm.

The first trustees, to whose wise administration, freely given, the trust is deeply indebted for its prosperity, were Messrs. Charles S. Storrow, Nathaniel G. White, and Henry K. Oliver, of Lawrence, of whom Messrs. Storrow and Oliver have since been succeeded by Messrs. George D. Cabot and James H. Eaton.

The first course of White lectures was delivered in the winter of 1864–1865; since which time six lectures have been given every winter, free to the industrial classes of Lawrence. Sixteen hundred tickets of admission for each lecture are gratuitously distributed, the largest hall in the town being filled, while the applications for tickets are greatly in excess of its capacity. Meantime, the fund has steadily increased, amounting in 1883 to over $72,000, while land enough still remained to bring the total amount not far below $100,000. From the income of this fund, after providing for the lectures, an appropriation has been made of $1,000 annually since 1872, which sum is expended in the purchase of carefully selected books for the Lawrence Free Public Library, inscribed as from the "White Fund." Thus, the large and far-seeing plan of the founder in some degree accomplishes for that important manufacturing city, the work in which the "Lowell Institute" of Boston was the pioneer, and is still the chief among such public endowments of New England cities.

He was admitted to honorary membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 10, 1847.

On July 1, 1853, Judge White retired from his office of Judge of Probate, after holding it thirty-eight years. His closing years were those of an ideal old age. Retaining the vigor of his tall and noble presence, free from physical or mental infirmity, his hair scarcely touched with silver, his step elastic as in youth, he had the full enjoyment of all his powers and was busy with his studies and his pen till near the close of his eighty-fifth year. The happy serenity of "all that should accompany old age" was shadowed, but not darkened, by the loss of a beloved daughter, the only child who had retained a home near him; but for the rest, he was surrounded by the love of descendants who idolized him, and by the veneration of the community which regarded him as its first citizen.

On January 2, 1861, an over-exertion in a visit to Cambridge in connection with the Divinity School, brought on or developed an affection of the heart. A few weeks of growing weakness of body, but of unclouded mind and trusting spirit, and the end of earth came on March 30, 1861. The bells of the city tolled as he was borne to his rest on the second of April, amid a falling snow as spotless as his character. His brethren of the Essex Bar expressed the general feeling in resolutions which recorded their "appreciation of" his "fine intellectual and moral traits; of that elegant and varied scholarship, and that thorough and exact learning of which a brilliant University career gave promise, and which the experience of so long a life did not disappoint; of his fidelity to his professional and judicial duties; of the services which he has rendered to the Probate law, by his faithful administration and his published treatise; of the pure and simple course of his daily life; of the unswerving integrity, the exquisite religious sensibility, the large philanthropy, and the unbounded and generous sympathy for all around him, which ennobled his life, even to its extremest close," and commemorating "with affectionate pride" "the beneficent influence of his example."

What he was to other associates was recorded by the Hon. Charles G. Loring, in an obituary notice in the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; by the Rev. Dr. James Walker, Ex-President of Harvard College, in a memoir of him, with a portrait, in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and by the Rev. Dr. George W. Briggs, in a memoir of him in the Proceedings of the Essex Institute. To those who, in the city which was his home for forty-four years, use the treasures of his library, or who in the other city which covers his native fields shall receive the benefits of his noble foundation, the value of his gift would be enhanced if the memory of the giver, as he was, could be impressed indelibly upon it, and it would be his best gift if his character could be transmitted. He was a patriot of the lofty type of the founders of the Republic; a Christian in the deepest spirit of the New Testament; a man ruled by justice tempered with mercy, generous, high-minded, true, with a Puritan conscience and a heart of love, the faith of a disciple, and the trusting soul simple and pure as of a little child.

JOHN McLEAN

John McLean, the son of Fergus and Sophia McLean, was born in Morris County, New Jersey, March 11, 1785. His father, descended from the Scottish clan of McLean, came with his mother, whose maiden name was Blockford, to the United States from Ireland. Sophia McLean died in the autumn of 1839, aged eighty-six. Fergus died some months earlier, aged more than ninety years. Fergus McLean, a weaver by trade, with a large family and limited means, migrated from New Jersey in 1789, going first to Morgantown, Virginia, then to Jessamine, near Nicholasville, Kentucky. In 1793 he moved to the neighborhood of May's Lick, Kentucky. Finally, in 1799, he crossed the Ohio River to the Northwest Territory and settled near Lebanon, in what is now Warren County, Ohio. Here he cleared a farm on which he lived forty years, until his death.

During these wanderings young McLean was sent to school, as opportunity was found, and made good use of the advantage. The first two years of his life north of the Ohio he gave wholly to aiding his father in clearing and working the farm. In his sixteenth year, resolving to get further instruction without cost to his father, he worked for wages and earned enough to pay the Rev. Matthew Wallace and Mr. Stubbs, who lived near, for tuition, especially in Latin and Greek. They were, fortunately, competent instructors; and his burning zeal, guided by them, made rapid progress. Two years later, when eighteen years old, he went to Cincinnati and found employment in the office of the clerk of Hamilton County. Working in the office only a part of each day, he supported himself on his salary and meanwhile read law with Arthur St. Clair, a prominent member of the Bar of Cincinnati, and son of General St. Clair, the governor of the Northwest Territory. At the same time he was a member of a debating club composed of aspiring young men of the city, several of whom subsequently became prominent in the State. His diligent reading was supplemented by a practical acquaintance with forms and procedure gained in the clerk's office, and facility of speech acquired in the club.

He was admitted to the Bar in the fall of 1807, and at once began practice in Lebanon, Warren County. His home reputation promptly brought him clients. His careful training, ardent industry, and consequent success, brought increase of business; and he was soon enjoying from it an income which, for the time and the region, was large. He was marked as a rising man.

The Congressional district in which he lived embraced Hamilton County. At the election in the fall of 1812, he was one of three candidates for the national House of Representatives, and was elected by a large majority over both his competitors, after an exciting contest. He was a member of the Democratic party; gave his warm support to the administration of James Madison; advocated the war against England; and by an able speech defended the measures adopted for carrying it on. Though an earnest, he was an independent member of the party, and did not hesitate on occasion to oppose measures favored by it.

His independence did not diminish his popularity. In 1814 he was re-elected to Congress by the unanimous vote of all the electors who took part in the election. Not only did no one vote against him, but also no one who voted for any office at the election, refrained from voting for him. He was placed on the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Public Lands. He advocated bills to indemnify persons for property lost in the public service; to give pensions to the widows of officers and soldiers who had fallen in the service; and to give members of Congress a fixed salary of fifteen hundred dollars per annum instead of a per diem allowance. Though only thirty years old, and therefore barely eligible, he was solicited to be a candidate for election to the national Senate, with the assurance that he would certainly be elected; but he declined to be candidate. In 1816 the legislature of Ohio unanimously elected him a judge of the Supreme Court of the State (judges were elected by the legislature in Ohio until the adoption of the Constitution of 1851). His term in Congress having nearly expired, he resigned his place there to enter upon a new career.

He remained a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio six years. The decisions of the court were not then reported: the first volume of Ohio reports begins December, 1823. Some of Judge McLean's opinions on the circuit are reported in Wright's reports.

In the summer of 1822 President Monroe appointed him Commissioner of the Land Office; and in 1823 appointed him Postmaster-General. The affairs of the post-office were at the time in extreme disorder. Contractors failed to perform their engagements; postmasters were inefficient, negligent, delinquent; mails were irregular in their delivery. McLean displayed, in the management of this department, great administrative ability and resolution. Contractors were held to their engagements or were prosecuted for failure. Incompetent and unfaithful officers were removed. In filling vacancies, the Postmaster-General considered only the competence of proposed appointees; he refused to know or be informed of their political services or their party affiliations. In many of the smaller towns he appointed women. Certainty and precision in the delivery of mails were secured. The reform was so great that he was called the best Postmaster-General the country had known. He was continued in the office during the administration of John Quincy Adams, and the salary of the office was increased from four thousand dollars to six thousand per annum, by a majority so large as to approach unanimity in both houses of Congress. John Randolph, who opposed the bill, said he would vote for it if the increase of salary were limited so as to expire when Judge McLean should leave the office.

Justice Trimble of the Supreme Court of the United States, a resident of Kentucky, died August 25, 1828. The members from Ohio, of both houses of Congress, recommended Thomas Ewing to the President for appointment to the vacant place. The Illinois delegation recommended Judge Nathaniel Pope, District Judge for the district of Illinois, the father of General John Pope. The vacancy remained unfilled when President Jackson was inaugurated, March 4, 1829. Jackson desired to give the place of Postmaster-General, with its large patronage, to another person. The Postmaster-General was not yet a member of the cabinet, and Judge McLean did not resign. It is said that Jackson offered to appoint him Secretary of the Navy and Secretary of War, and that he declined both. On the seventh of March the President appointed him Justice of the Supreme Court, and the appointment was promptly confirmed by the Senate. He was assigned to the Seventh Circuit, which then embraced the districts of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, and subsequently was composed of the districts of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.

Justice McLean began hearing cases on the circuit in May, and took his seat in the Supreme Court at the opening of the next term, January, 1830. He delivered the opinion of the court in the second case decided at that term. After his death Chief Justice Taney said: "He held a seat on this bench more than thirty years, and until the last two years of his life, when his health began to fail, was never absent from his duties here a single day." He was fortunate in his associates. In the beginning of his long term he sat with Marshall and Story; in later years with Curtis and Taney. At the sessions in Washington, the leaders of the American bar discussed before him the whole field of law. On the circuit he presided over the contests of Ewing, Stanbery, and their compeers. He was dignified, courteous, and patient on the bench, and laborious and painstaking in the consideration of causes. He was impartial and fearless in enforcing the law. While earnestly opposed to the institution of slavery, and holding that it existed anywhere only by virtue of positive law, and was therefore necessarily local, he had no hesitation in enforcing frankly the laws which had, under the Constitution, been enacted for the protection of the institution. In his dissenting opinion in the case of Dred Scott *vs.* Sandford, he said: "If a citizen of a free state shall entice or enable a slave to escape from the service of his master, the law holds him responsible not only for the loss of the slave, but he is liable to be indicted and fined for the misdemeanor. And I am bound here to say that I have never found a jury in the four States which constitute my circuit, which have not sustained this law where the evidence required them to sustain it. And it is proper that I should also say that more cases have arisen in my circuit, by reason of its extent and locality, than in all other parts of the Union. This has been done to vindicate the sovereign rights of the southern States, and protect the legal interests of our brethren of the South."—Dred Scott *vs.* Sandford, 19 How. pp. 558, 559.

His decisions on the circuit were not often reversed: in the Supreme Court he was not often in the minority; and it is now safe to say that sometimes when he dissented he was right. In the preface of the first volume of his Circuit Court Reports, he says: "In some of the opinions of the court there will be found a similarity to the opinions of the Supreme Court, on a review of the same cases. This arises from the fact that the opinions in both courts were written by the Circuit Judge, who does not deem it necessary to write the opinions delivered in the Circuit Court over again." He had not the genius of Marshall, the learning of Story, the legal instinct of Taney, or the keen discrimination and masterly reasoning of Curtis. Nor had he the absorbed devotion to the law which characterized all four. But he was able, laborious, had a long and varied acquaintance with the law, and the advantage of a wide experience in public affairs. He was not a great judge, but was a safe judge. His decisions were right even when the opinions by which he supported them were open to criticism.

He never lost his interest in public affairs. He was scarcely seated on the Supreme Bench before his name was mentioned in connection with the presidency. The national anti-masonic convention which in 1831 nominated William Wirt for president, proposed to nominate Justice McLean. He declined their nomination, saying in his letter to the convention, "If, by a multiplicity of candidates, an election by the people should be prevented, I should consider it a misfortune. In the present agitated state of the public mind, an individual who should be elected to the chief magistracy by less than a majority of the votes of the people, could scarcely hope to conduct successfully the business of the nation."

The newspapers having published an imperfect account of a conversation between him and Daniel Webster about the National Bank, he wrote, May 12, 1834, to Thomas

Corwin, a correction of the report, in which he says: "I considered an attempt to recharter the bank of the United States would be useless, as it could not be passed by a majority of two-thirds in each house; and without such a majority it could not be rechartered. . . . I would not vote for a recharter without important modifications, and I voted against the present charter. I preferred a new bank, under such modifications as would make it more acceptable to the people at large than the present bank. . . . As it regards the return of the deposits, I have never said to any one, or thought, that they ought not to be returned. . . . I consider their removal as having been more injurious to the public interests than any other act which the President has had it in his power to do."

In February, 1835, Salmon P. Chase, who was interested in Justice McLean as a prospective Whig candidate for the presidency, wrote to him and also to Samuel F. Vinton, about a rumor that Judge McLean had determined not to permit himself longer to be considered a candidate for the presidency. He said: "If it be true, I must regard it as a public misfortune. So long as a hope remains of healing the unhappy division in the ranks of the Whig party, and of saving the country by a united effort, it seems to me that no man is at liberty to withdraw himself from the people."

He was, in this year, proposed as candidate in some States by popular conventions; in Ohio by a majority of the legislature. In August he wrote to the chairman of one of the committees, that he was not desirous to attain the office except on such terms as would enable him to carry out those principles which would elevate and tranquillize the political action of the country.

When the anti-slavery feeling developed a party opposed to the extension of slavery, he became identified with this party. His name was considered by the convention of "free democracy" which in 1848 nominated

Martin Van Buren. His name was before the convention of 1852 which nominated General Scott. In the convention of 1856, which nominated Fremont, he received one hundred and ninety-six votes to Fremont's three hundred and fifty-nine. A committee from New York desired, as a condition of the support of Judge McLean's name by the delegates of that State in the convention, that the appointments in New York, in case of his election, should be controlled by certain named persons. He refused, and the delegates from New York did not vote for him. His name was before the convention at Chicago in 1860, which nominated Lincoln, and was warmly advocated by Thomas Corwin. He died April 4, 1861, just one month after the inauguration of President Lincoln, at the outbreaking of the war which he had long foreseen, and died in full faith in the ultimate success of the national government.

He was a man of large frame, commanding presence, and dignified bearing. His character was without stain; his life was exemplary. He had a cheerful disposition; and, while not gifted with humor, he had a hearty enjoyment of humor in others. He had a high appreciation of his judicial office, was constantly concerned for the welfare of the country, and led a life of laborious industry. He was a devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was an earnest, though undemonstrative, advocate of temperance.

He was twice married. In the spring of 1807 he married Rebecca Edwards, a stately lady, whose father, Dr. Edwards, was a native of Virginia, and whose mother was born in South Carolina. Seven children were born of this marriage: Arabella, who married Major Elijah Weed of the regular army, and died in 1834; Major Weed survived a few years: Eveline, who married General Joseph P. Taylor, brother of President Zachary Taylor, and Commissary-General of the army, who died near the close of the civil war; Mrs. Taylor still lives: Rebecca, who married Augustus Richards, attorney at law, and died in 1836; he died a few years later: Sarah, who married Dr. Joshua Heyward, and died in 1840; her husband died in 1845: John McLean, clerk of the United States Circuit and District Courts of the district of Ohio, who married Mildred J. Taylor, and died February 3, 1872; his widow still lives: Nathaniel C. McLean, colonel of the seventy-fifth Ohio Infantry, and Brevet Brigadier-General in the civil war, who married, first, Caroline Burnet, daughter of Judge Jacob Burnet, and second, Miss Thompson, of Louisville, Kentucky; and is still living: William McLean, who died at the age of eight years.

Mrs. Rebecca McLean died in December, 1840; and in 1843 Justice McLean married Sarah Bella Garrard, widow of Colonel Jephtha D. Garrard, and youngest child of Israel Ludlow, one of the three proprietors of the site of Cincinnati, and Charlotte Chambers of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Charlotte Chambers Ludlow was distinguished for her beauty, grace, intellect, and force of character. Mrs. McLean inherited many of her mother's traits, and was the trusted counsellor of her husband. The relative social precedence of the wives of Justices of the Supreme Court and the wives of Senators, was an unsettled question. Mrs. McLean, and Mrs. Bell, wife of John Bell, were warm friends, but each was tenacious of the privileges of her order. At the beginning of one season in Washington, Mrs. McLean, hearing that Mrs. Bell was ill, went to make a visit of sympathy, though Mrs. Bell had not called upon her. As she entered the drawing-room she saw Mrs. Bell vivaciously entertaining a circle of visitors. Mrs. McLean paused by the door, and saying, "I thought you were ill: I came to sit with you. This is not a call," — left the house.

The only issue of this marriage was one child who lived only a few weeks. Justice McLean said the death of this infant was the sharpest grief of his life.

He received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1835, from the Wesleyan University of Connecticut, and in 1839 from Harvard College. He was admitted an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, October 15, 1850.

His opinions delivered in the Supreme Court are found in Peters' Reports, vols. 3–17, and in Howard's Reports, vols. 1–24. In the twenty-fourth of Howard are only three of his opinions, and those not important. His Circuit Court decisions are reported in six volumes of McLean's Reports, covering May Term, 1829, and October Term, 1855. The first volume was published in 1840, the last in 1856.

Several addresses delivered by him were published: among which were his addresses before the Union and Jefferson societies, published in Cincinnati, in 1831; his Eulogy of the Character of James Monroe, Cincinnati, 1831; Sketch of the life of John W. Campbell, District Judge of the district of Ohio, prefixed to the collection of the writings of Judge Campbell, published in Columbus, Ohio, 1838; Address at the Consecration of Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, 1845; Lecture on Government, before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association, Cincinnati, 1854; and a Biographical Sketch of the Rev. Philip Gatch, Cincinnati, 1854.

JOSEPH HUNTER

Joseph Hunter, son of Michael Hunter, a manufacturer of cutlery in Sheffield, England, was born February 6, 1783. His mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Girdler, died soon after he was four years old. His father soon after put the motherless boy into the charge of the Rev. Joseph Evans, a dissenting minister in Sheffield, who, with his wife, being without children, soon grew so much attached to the lad as to adopt him formally as their own, and carefully to proceed with his elementary education. Put to school in due time in the neighborhood, he developed a taste for studies in history and archæology, spending many leisure hours in copying monumental and other memorials of the past. Deciding to prepare for the ministry, he became a student in the Presbyterian College of York, and on graduation was invited to the charge of the Presbyterian Church in Bath, which he assumed, in 1809, at the early age of six-and-twenty. Not long after, he illustrated the drift of doctrine which was then very common among English Presbyterians, by adopting Unitarian sentiments. In the intervals of professional labor he still pursued historical studies, and in 1815 published a discussion of the question, Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey? In December of that year he was united in marriage to Mary, daughter of Francis Hayward, M. D., of Bath. Until 1833 he continued his pastorate in Bath, when he laid down his profession to become a sub-commissioner of the Public Record Commission, and removed to London to enter upon his new duties.

While in Bath he became one of the founders of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, a member of the Stourhead Circle, an association of Somersetshire and Wiltshire antiquaries, and an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In 1819 he published his first elaborate work, entitled, Hallamshire: the History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield, in the County of York; which was followed in 1828 and 1831 by the History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster, in two folio volumes. His Hallamshire won him election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

As a member of the Record Commission he edited several volumes of its publications; and when, in 1838, it was reorganized, he was made one of the assistant keepers of the first class, and assigned to the special duty of calendaring documents, which furnished the main work of the remainder of his life.

His studies in the deanery of Doncaster and its vicinity led him into close connection with the spot whence New England began to be; and in 1849 he published a tract entitled, Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, etc.; subsequently enlarged, in a second edition, as Collections concerning the Church or Congregation of Protestant Separatists formed at Scrooby, in North Nottinghamshire, in the time of King James I.: the Founders of New Plymouth, etc., 1854. His knowledge of the ground led him to interpret the word in Cotton Mather's Magnalia, Bk. ii. p. 3, which a printer's blunder had made "Ansterfield," to be "Austerfield;" whence it was easy for him to infer that the old manor-house of the Archbishopric of York at Scrooby, in the near neighborhood, was that precise "maximæ gentis incunabula" where were nursed the infant fortunes of the "Mayflower" company. Mr. Hunter took great pride in his discovery, and was always glad to do all in his power to aid New England researches; as, in 1851, the writer of this had occasion gratefully to acknowledge. In 1842 he was elected a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and, February 2, 1848, was admitted to a like membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society. His services, in 1855, in superintending the copying of the priceless manuscript of Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, now detained in the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham, preparatory to its publication, were greatly valued.

After a life crowded with useful labors largely of the type above suggested, Mr. Hunter died May 9, 1861, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. His wife had died near the close of 1840, and three of their six children also preceded him to the grave. He was buried in Ecclesfield, five miles north of his native town.

Besides thirteen essays contributed to the Archæologia, — vol. xxii. pp. 420–421 (1827); xxvii. 274–297 (1837); xxix. 167–191 (1841); xxxii. 16–24 (1846); xxxii. 73–82 (1846); xxxii. 132–149 (1846); xxxii. 379–387 (1848); xxxiv. 42–45 (1850); xxxiv. 403–405 (1852); xxxvi. 242–257 (1855); xxxvi. 267–269 (1855); xxxvii. 23–26 (1856); and xxxvii. 447–454 (1858), — the following is believed to be a complete list of his publications, viz.: —

1. The Ameliorated Condition of the Poor one Benefit derived to the World from Christianity; considered in a Discourse delivered at Trim Street Chapel, Bath. 1811. 8vo, pp. 25.
2. A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. John Simpson: contained in a Sermon delivered at the Unitarian Chapel, Bath. 1813. 8vo, pp. 38.
3. Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey? A Dissertation. London, 1815. 4to.
4. Scripture the Delight and Guide of the Unitarian Christian: a Sermon. London, 1817. 12mo, pp. 44.

5. The Deist, the Christian, and the Unitarian: a Sermon. Bath, 1819. 8vo, pp. 31.

6. Hallamshire. The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield, in the County of York. With Historical and Descriptive Notices of the Parishes of Ecclesfield, Hansworth, Treaton, and Whiston, and of the Chapelry of Bradfield. London, 1819. Folio, pp. x, 299.

7. Golden Sentences: a Manual that may be used by all who desire to be Moral and Religious. Selected by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. S. A. Bath, 1826. 8vo, pp. viii, 79.

8. South Yorkshire. The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster, in the Diocese and County of York. Vol. I. London, 1828. Folio, pp. xvii, 406. Vol. II. London, 1831. Folio, pp. iii, 498.

9. The Life of Sir Thomas More, by his Great-Grandson, Cresacre More. With a Biographical Preface, Notes, and other Illustrations. London, 1828. 8vo, pp. lxiv, 376.

10. The Hallamshire Glossary. London, 1829. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 164.

11. The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S. Now first published from the Original Manuscript. London, 1830. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 471, 442.

12. English Monastic Libraries. I. A Catalogue of the Library of the Priory of Bretton, in Yorkshire. II. Notices of the Libraries belonging to other Religious Houses. London, 1831. 4to, pp. xii, 30.

13. Letters of Eminent Men, addressed to Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S. London, 1832. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 448, 491.

14. Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii, vel Magnum Rotulum Pipæ, de anno xxxi° Regni Henrici Primi (ut videtur), quem plurimi hactenus laudârunt pro Rotulo V$^{\text{ti}}$ anni Stephani Regis, nunc primum edidit Josephus Hunter, S. A. S. Printed under the direction of the Commissioners on the Public Records. 1833. 8vo, pp. xxiii, 161.

15. Rotuli Selecti ad res Anglicas et Hibernicas spectantes, ex Archivis in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi deprompti: curâ Josephi Hunter, S. A. S. Printed under the direction of the Commissioners on the Public Records. 1834. 8vo, pp. xxxviii, 265.

16. The Attorney-General versus Shore. An Historical Defence of the Trustees of Lady Hewley's Foundations, and of

the Claims upon them of the Presbyterian Ministry of England. London, 1834. 8vo, pp. iv, 80.

17. Fines sive Pedes Finium ab a° vii° Regis Ricardi I. ad a^{m} xvi^{m} Regis Johannis: edente Josepho Hunter, S. A. S. Printed under the direction of the Commissioners on the Public Records. 1835. 8vo, pp. lxvi, 357.

18. A Letter to Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., &c. London, 1837. 8vo, pp. 71.

19. Three Catalogues describing the Contents of the Red Book of the Exchequer, the Dodsworth Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn. London, 1838. 8vo, pp. 412.

20. A Disquisition on the Scene, Origin, Date, &c., of Shakespeare's "Tempest": in a Letter to Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. 1839. 8vo, pp. 151. One hundred copies only.

21. Ecclesiastical Documents. Now first published. London, 1840. 4to, pp. 100.

22. A True Account of the Alienation and Recovery of the Estates of the Offleys of Norton, in 1754. With Remarks on the Version of the Story by the Author of "Tremaine" and "De Vere." London, 1841. 12mo, pp. 80.

23. The Rise of the Old Dissent exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood, 1630–1702. London, 1842. 8vo, pp. 463.

24. The Diary of Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester. Now first printed from the Original Manuscript in the possession of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. S. A. London, 1843. 4to, pp. xvii, 110.

25. Gens Sylvestrina. Memorials of Some of my Good and Religious Ancestors; or, Eleven Generations of a Puritan Family. 1846. 8vo, pp. 189. Privately printed.

26. Notes of an English Traveller during a Two Days' Sojourn at Ober-Wesel on the Rhine. 1847. 12mo, pp. 22. Privately printed.

27. Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, the First Colonists of New England. London, 1849. 12mo, pp. 70.

28. Agincourt. A Contribution towards an Authentic List of the Commanders of the English Host in King Henry V.'s Expedition to France, in the Third Year of his Reign. 1850. 12mo, pp. 56.

29. Milton. A Sheaf of Gleanings after his Biographers and Annotators. I. Genealogical Investigation. II. Notes on some of his Poems. London, 1850. 12mo, pp. 72.

30. Antiquarian Notices of Lupset, the Heath, Sharlston, and Ackton. 1851. 8vo. Printed for private circulation.

31. The Great Hero of the Ancient Minstrelsy of England, Robin Hood; his Period, Real Character, &c., investigated, and perhaps ascertained. 1852. 12mo, pp. 62.

32. The Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England: a Paper read before the Literary and Philosophical Association of the Bath Institution, on November 6, 1826. With an Account of the Formation of the Institution, and Notes on the Paper, written in 1853. Bath, 1853. 8vo, pp. 95.

33. New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare: supplementary to all the Editions. London. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xvi, 425, 373.

34. A Few Words in Reply to the Animadversions of the Rev. Mr. Dyce on Mr. Hunter's "Disquisition on the Tempest" [No. 20, *ante*], and his "New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare" [No. 33, *ante*], contained in his work entitled, "A Few Notes on Shakespeare; with Occasional Remarks on the Emendations of the Manuscript Corrector in Mr. Collier's Copy of the Folio, 1632." London, 1853. 8vo, pp. 23.

35. Collections concerning the Church or Congregation of Protestant Separatists formed at Scrooby in North Nottinghamshire, in the time of King James I.: The Founders of New Plymouth, the Parent Colony of New England. London, 1854. 8vo, pp. xiv, 205. Second and much enlarged edition of No. 27, *ante*.

36. Pope: his Descent and Family Connections. Facts and Conjectures. London, 1857. 12mo, pp. 46.

I should add, that for most of the facts above recounted, I am indebted to the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1861, and to a notice of Mr. Hunter, by Dr. Charles Deane, in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for December, 1879.

NATHAN APPLETON

The immigrant ancestor of Nathan Appleton was Samuel Appleton, a native of Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, England, where he was baptized on the thirteenth of August, 1586. He was made a freeman in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1636; and received a grant of land at Ipswich upon which he settled; portions of this property are still in the possession of his descendants. He died in 1670.

Nathan Appleton was a son of Deacon Isaac Appleton of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, where he was born October 6, 1779. At the age of thirteen he entered the Academy in his native town, then under the preceptorship of Mr. John Hubbard, where he was fitted for college. Entering Dartmouth in 1794, he soon after accepted a position in the office of his brother Samuel, then engaged in business in that part of Boston which is now Washington Street, then known as Cornhill. He applied himself to his daily tasks with that persistency and energy which in after life was so distinguishing a feature in his business career.

In 1810, while on a visit to Europe, in connection with his business affairs, he met at Edinburgh Mr. Francis C. Lowell. The subject of cotton manufacture was deeply interesting to both of them, and the result of their conversations was that in course of time a water-power was purchased at Waltham. Here the first power-loom was used; and from this humble beginning came the purchase in due time of the water-power at Pawtucket Falls on the Merrimack River, now covered with gigantic structures, and named by Mr. Appleton in honor, as he modestly said, of "the informing soul that gave direction and form to the whole proceeding," Francis C. Lowell.

The practical information which Mr. Appleton had acquired in cotton manufacture, his vast knowledge obtained from books and experience, his understanding of great problems of public policy, currency, and banking, rendered him an important person to represent in the counsels of law-makers the interests of the cotton spinners of the North. He was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1815, and served his constituents with great fidelity almost every year until 1827. Three years later he was chosen a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, after a closely contested election. His speeches in Congress were listened to with profound attention, and whenever he spoke it was to the point at issue. At the same time, he wrote essays on various topics with which he was familiar; and the clearness and conciseness of his style at once attracted the attention of the reader, and in some cases carried conviction to his opponents.

At the breaking out of the Rebellion he did all that any lover of his country could do; he supported the Government with ardor, and was anxious that the Union should be preserved. He was interested in the promotion of knowledge, and was a member of many scientific and historical societies. He was admitted to the New England Historic Genealogical Society as an honorary member, January 9, 1847; but this membership was changed at his own request to that of resident, April 14, 1853. He was also a member of the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. For his distinguished services, he received, in 1855, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard College.

Mr. Appleton was twice married. His first wife, whom he married April 13, 1806, was Maria Theresa Gold of Pittsfield; she died February 10, 1833. Her children were Thomas Gold, born March 31, 1812, a graduate of Harvard in 1831, a gentlemen of literary and artistic tastes, who died deeply lamented by a host of friends and admirers; Mary, born October 18, 1813, who married Robert James Mackintosh, Esq., at one time Governor-General of the Leeward Islands; Charles Sedgwick, born October 9, 1815, died October 25, 1835; Fanny Elizabeth, born October 6, 1817, who married Professor Henry W. Longfellow, and died July 10, 1861.

For his second wife, Mr. Appleton married, January 8, 1839, Harriot Coffin, daughter of Jesse and Harriot (Coffin) Sumner. She died October 10, 1867. Their children were William Sumner, born January 11, 1840, H. C. 1860; Harriot, born November 16, 1841; Nathan, born February 2, 1843, H. C. 1863.

The following list of the writings of Mr. Appleton appeared in the memoir prepared by Mr. Winthrop: —

1. An Examination of the Banking System of Massachusetts, in reference to the renewal of the Bank Charters. 1831; pp. 48.
2. Remarks on Mr. Bouldin's Resolution of Inquiry into the nature of Minimum Duties. House of Representatives, January 21, 1832; pp. 12.
3. Speech in Reply to Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, on the Tariff. House of Representatives, May 30, 1832; pp. 24.
4. Speech on the Bill to reduce and otherwise alter the Duties on Imports. House of Representatives, January 23, 1833; pp. 31.
5. Remarks on Currency and Banking; having reference to the present Derangement of the Circulating Medium in the United States. 1841; pp. 48 (with appendix, 73).
6. Speech on the Tariff and Compromise Act, delivered in the House of Representatives, July 5, 1842; pp. 10.

7. Labor: its Relations in Europe and the United States compared. 1844; pp. 16.

8. Correspondence between Nathan Appleton and John G. Palfrey. 1846; pp. 20.

9. What is a Revenue Standard? and a review of Secretary Walker's Report on the Tariff. 1846; pp. 23.

10. Correspondence between Nathan Appleton and John A. Lowell in relation to the Early History of the City of Lowell. 1848; pp. 19.

11. Memoir of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence; prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society. 1856; pp. 20.

12. Remarks on Currency and Banking. Third edition. 1857; pp. 63.

13. Introduction of Power-loom, and Origin of Lowell. 1858; pp. 36.

14. The Doctrines of Original Sin and the Trinity; discussed in a Correspondence between a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church in England and a Layman of Boston, U. S. 1859; pp. 50.

15. Letter to the Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia, on Slavery and the Union. 1860; pp. 17.

The opinion formed by those who knew Mr. Appleton is here given in their own words. At a meeting of the merchants of Boston held shortly after his death, which occurred on the fourteenth of July, 1861, Mr John A. Lowell said: —

No one, perhaps, now living has been for so long a period intimately associated with him in the pursuits of business; certainly no one is prepared to render stronger testimony to the sagacity, the public spirit, the unshaken firmness, the high tone of honor, that marked every action of his long and useful career. His name is too intimately connected with finance, with commerce, with all the great industrial pursuits of New England, to need eulogium from any one; but it is a privilege which we, his fellow-citizens, would not willingly forego, to bear our ready testimony to those qualities which have done more than those of perhaps any other one man to enhance the estimation and promote the prosperity, not of this city only, not of this State, nor of New England, but of the whole of our common country, North, East, West, ay, and South. The time will come, I am assured, when even that now ungrateful and rebellious land will enroll the name of Nathan Appleton among the benefactors our country gave us.

Mr. Edward Everett remarked as follows: —

There was, I suppose, no person in the community who understood the subjects of banking and currency better than Mr. Appleton; few as well. Mr. Webster once, in conversation with me, after mentioning other distinguished financiers, added, "But Mr. Appleton, on these subjects, is our most acute and profound thinker." His tract on currency, first published in 1841, and since reprinted twice, shows, I think, the justice of this remark. I am certainly bound to admit it; for, on one important subject, I must own that he was right, and I was wrong. Sooner than most men, he discovered the false system and dangerous principles on which the Bank of the United States was proceeding, and foretold the crash which afterwards took place. Had every one possessed his discernment in this respect, how much public wrong and private suffering would have been spared!

At the same meeting, Mr. J. Thomas Stevenson said: —

Mr. Appleton was an accomplished gentleman. Endowed by nature with a vigorous intellect, he had employed his leisure from the active work of business for its cultivation. He studied a subject before he talked about it. He was a logical thinker and a lucid writer. The productions of his pen upon subjects affecting the commercial interests and the political economy of the country have been of marked value.

In his old age, he enjoyed the innocent pleasures of life with a zest that might have become a boy. The lengthening shadows, as his sun went down, cast no obscurity over his mind; but he noted, with the eye of a Christian philosopher, the gradual ebb of his own vital powers. Knowing, as he did, that the time that was lent to him must be measured by only a few days, he approached the confines of eternity, though called upon to bear a terrible domestic burden which an inscrutable Providence had just laid upon him, with unfaltering step. His perfect patience was founded on a firm faith.

I may be asked, "Had our departed friend no faults?" Of course he had, for he was human; and God has not vouchsafed to us that men should be perfect here on earth. But, assuredly, we may permit the cold hand of death to draw an impenetrable veil over the frailties or the foibles that made our friend a man, while we contemplate the virtues which have fitted him for an angel. May he be an angel to us! Let us imitate his example, and revere his memory; then, though he be sleeping in the grave, he will still be doing good to those who are to follow him.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held August 8, 1861, Mr. Winthrop, the President, said: —

Not many men, indeed, have exercised a more important influence among us, during the last half-century, than the late Hon. Nathan Appleton. Not many men have done more than he has done, in promoting the interests, and sustaining the institutions, to which New England has owed so much of its prosperity and welfare. No man has done more, by example and by precept, to elevate the standard of mercantile character, and to exhibit the pursuits of commerce in proud association with the highest integrity, liberality, and ability.

In his excellent Memoir of Mr. Appleton, published in October, 1861, in the Proceedings of the same Society, Mr. Winthrop sums up the chief characteristics of Mr. Appleton as a citizen, as a merchant, and as a public man, in the following language: —

Persistent courage and inflexible integrity were, indeed, the two leading elements of Mr. Appleton's character, and constituted the secrets of his great success. To these, more than to anything else, he owed both his fortune and his fame. He displayed his boldness by embarking in untried enterprises, by advocating unpopular doctrines, by resisting popular prejudices, by confronting the most powerful and accomplished opponents in oral or written argument, and by shrinking from no controversy into which the independent expression of his opinions might lead him. His integrity was manifested, where all the world might read it, in the daily dealings of a long mercantile career, and in the principles which he inculcated in so many forms of moral, commercial, and financial discussion.

The writer of this memoir regrets that the committee were unable to secure an account of Mr. Appleton from some one who was personally acquainted with him. In default of that, he has endeavored to preserve the principal facts relating to his history, and to give in the words of those who knew and honored him their estimate of his character and life-work.

AARON CLARK

AARON CLARK was born in the town of Worthington, Massachusetts, on the sixteenth of October, 1787. He was descended from Daniel[1] Clark, born in 1623, a resident of Windsor in Connecticut in 1639, who married, June 13, 1644, Mary, daughter of Thomas Newberry, and died August 12, 1710; Daniel[2] of Hartford, born in 1654, who married in 1678, Hannah, daughter of Daniel Pratt; Aaron,[3] baptized November 13, 1687, who married Susanna ——; Aaron,[4] born May 14, 1712, and died November 6, 1788, who married on October 11, 1742, Sarah, daughter of John and Sarah Fowler, born December 13, 1713, and died March 29, 1771; and David,[5] born August 20, 1756, who, for his second wife, married January 18, 1787, Lydia Benjamin of Worthington; and the last named were the parents of the subject of this sketch.

In his early boyhood Aaron removed with his parents to the State of Vermont, and probably to the town of Middlebury, or the vicinity. Soon afterwards he had the misfortune to lose his father, whose death occurred June 9, 1799, by accidental drowning in the town of Whiting, Vermont.

Aaron was graduated at Union College, in Schenectady, New York, in 1808. Soon after his graduation he was appointed tutor in the college; but in a short time he resigned his tutorship in order to accept the office of private secretary to Governor Daniel D. Tompkins.

Afterwards he entered the office of General Erastus Root (D.C. 1793), at Delhi, New York, as a student at law. On his admission to the Bar he practised his profession awhile at that place. From Delhi he went to Albany, and in 1815 was elected clerk of the Assembly, which position he held till 1820. While in this office he prepared a series of rules of parliamentary practice, which is still considered a valuable manual.

He was married in Albany, in the year 1815, to Catharine Maria, eldest child of General Anthony and Mary (Treat) Lamb, and a granddaughter of General John Lamb of the Revolutionary army. She was born in the city of New York, January 17, 1796, and died in that city on the twenty-third of April, 1832.

From Albany Mr. Clark removed to the city of New York, and entered the North River Bank as a clerk, at the foundation of that institution. He was afterwards cashier of that or some other bank in New York; which position he left to fill a more lucrative one as agent under the lottery grants of Messrs. Yates & McIntyre. He had a partner who possessed a remarkable tact for advertising, and they acquired a large fortune in the business.

In 1835 he was elected an assistant alderman, and the following year an alderman. In the spring of 1837 he succeeded Cornelius W. Lawrence as mayor of the city, being the candidate of the Whig and Native American parties; and was re-elected the following year. His first election was by an overwhelming majority; and on November 22, there was a grand celebration of the great victory. Delegates — some of whom afterwards became eminent in public life — were present from most, if not all, the New England States, as well as from several of the Middle and Southern States. At the dinner which was given in the evening Mayor Clark presided. The company present was very large. Before being seated, the Mayor, standing at the head of the table in the centre of the hall, announced in a loud voice, "Let Massachusetts sit at my right, and Virginia at my left;" but gave no instructions as to the location of the delegates from the other States. He was a gentleman of a remarkably fine personal appearance; was a fluent and graceful speaker; and presided with great dignity. An account of this celebration, an event more rare in those days than now, was published in many of the public journals, and was republished in Niles's Weekly Register, with the principal speeches made on the occasion.

It will be remembered that during the first year of Mr. Clark's official life as mayor a disastrous financial revulsion swept over the land. In the excited and confused state of affairs great distress prevailed, especially in the large cities. It was with great difficulty that violent proceedings were prevented; and the liberality of the wealthy, and the wisdom and energy of the magistrates, were taxed to an unusual degree. Mayor Clark proved equal to the demands of the times. He was a man of great energy and decision of character, and these traits were frequently illustrated in his official career.

Mr. Clark was actively engaged in prosecuting the preliminary measures for introducing into the city a larger and better supply of fresh water, and it was during his first term as mayor that ground was broken for laying the conduits from Croton Lake. He also succeeded in putting a stop to the very serious increase of dependent poverty caused by a large and fraudulent importation of poor aliens, who became at once a heavy burden upon the charities of the city, and an additional element of dangerous power.

But Mayor Clark did not confine his attention altogether to municipal affairs. He participated with the merchants and other leading men of the city in efforts for promoting its commercial welfare, and that of the nation as well. In his diary, under date of February 14, 1838, John Quincy Adams mentions his having presented to the Congress a "petition signed by Aaron Clark, Mayor of New York, and sundry others, for a ship canal across the isthmus of Panama."

Mr. Clark became a large landholder in the city of New York and in Brooklyn. He was actively interested in various corporations and societies. He was a director for some time in the North River Bank, and was the first president of the Merchants' Insurance Company,— corporations still existing. He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 28, 1856.

In private life Mr. Clark was justly esteemed by a large circle of friends; and his generous efforts in behalf of the poor and distressed were remarkable. In his last years of retirement he cultivated his taste for literary studies, and also applied himself — too diligently, it was thought — to the acquisition of a foreign language. His health failed, and his memory yielded to bodily weakness. His death occurred at his residence in Brooklyn, on the second of August, 1861, and his funeral took place at Trinity Church in the city of New York.

The children of Aaron and Catharine Clark were: —

Anthony, Mary, George William, George Anson, John Aaron, and Agnes Matilda. Of these, Mary, who married Orlando Forsyth, alone survives.

The substance of the foregoing memoir was prepared by the late Joseph Palmer, M.D., but the committee have revised and enlarged it in some particulars. For the genealogical data the committee are chiefly indebted to Mr. George Lamb, of Boston.

GEORGE NIXON BRIGGS

Of the sixty-three gentlemen who have held the office of governor of Massachusetts, under its colonial and provincial charters and its state constitution, — including those who were chosen in the Plymouth Colony before its union with Massachusetts, — only four of the fifteen appointed by the Crown, and only twelve of the forty-seven chosen by the people, served for a longer period than was accorded to Governor Briggs. Of the whole sixty-three, some whose administrations fell in tumultuous times and in great national crises have a larger place in history; but few were distinguished by more marked, and none by more honorable, personal characteristics. His principal biographer gives as the secondary title of his memoirs "Great in Goodness." If a designation were to be given, after the fashion of those bestowed upon European potentates in the olden time, "The Well-Beloved" would be fitting for Governor Briggs. Either is eminently truthful, and they are entirely consistent with each other. To excel in goodness is unquestionably to be great; and it is surely a great thing to be loved of the people, without regard to official station or political leadership, as George N. Briggs certainly was, and as the most magnetic public men rarely are, outside of their own political following. Still, in the minds of many readers, the title we have quoted suggests merely negative virtues, while those of Governor Briggs were strikingly positive. It leaves a suspicion of feebleness in the grand affairs of life, whereas he exhibited unwavering firmness in the performance of public as well as private duties, no little ability as an orator and statesman, and always quiet, even strength. A good, able, well-beloved, pious, and withal a quick-witted and successful, man, was he, — a man to be loved for many qualities, to be admired and honored also for others, but too many-sided to be epitomized in a single epithet, indicating but one specific phase of his life.

Governor Briggs was a self-made man, not only in the ordinary sense of these hackneyed words, as one who had risen from poverty to moderate wealth, and from an humble to an elevated position, by his own exertions; but because from early youth he built himself up in character and mind upon a predetermined and systematic plan, out of which wealth and position would have grown whether they were his ultimate aim or not. Religion was the basis of this system; but much that was learned from books of secular wisdom, and more from shrewd observation of men and from self-study, went to make up the superstructure.

But, after all, whatever we may say of self-making, much depends upon the original material; for, however we may make, we never create ourselves. That is the work of quite another hand, which also places what it has created in circumstances whose moulding can never be wholly changed by any subsequent manipulation, self or other. Let us see how it was in this regard with the subject of this memoir.

George N. Briggs was born, April 12, 1796, at Adams, a village or district known, before the division of the town in 1878, as South Adams. His father, Allen Briggs, the son of William and Sarah Briggs, was born at Cranston, Rhode Island, April 29, 1756, and died at Manchester, Vermont, April 29, 1826. His mother, Nancy, daughter of Joseph Brown, was of Huguenot descent, and was born at Cumberland, Rhode Island, June 11, 1762. Allen Briggs was the village blacksmith, a trade upon which the people then depended for a great variety of articles now made in large manufactories, or entirely superseded by new inventions. With industry and frugality it sufficed to give him a fair support; and, together with the personal qualities of himself and wife, to place the family in a respectable position in the community.

Adams lies at the foot of the majestic Greylock mountain, and amid some of the grandest scenery of the State. It now forms part of the rich manufacturing district of northern Berkshire. In this latter respect, all this was far otherwise in the years of George N. Briggs's infancy. The population of the whole large township, now Adams and North Adams, was only about two thousand. There were no manufactories, unless a fulling mill and the blacksmith shop of Allen Briggs could be so called, and the neighboring regions were in still worse condition. Agriculture, and that poorly remunerating, was the leading and almost sole pursuit. The township was divided from the rest of Berkshire upon religious differences, then held of vastly more account than now. Adams and the adjoining town of Cheshire were settled by Baptists and members of the Society of Friends from Rhode Island, the former emigrating generally on account of differences with their brethren as to some minor points of doctrine. They were men of sterling character and strong religious convictions, construing the language of the Bible strictly, and carrying the opinions they had formed from it to their logical conclusions. A considerable number of them were Friends, but the majority were Baptists whose ancestors had followed Roger Williams from Massachusetts. They had retained much of the stern Puritan character, but somewhat softened by experience and the more liberal teaching of Williams.

Of these people were Allen Briggs and his wife Nancy. Mr. Briggs, whose mother was a member of the Society of Friends, had thoroughly learned toleration, and practised it heartily. He loved the gospel of Christ in his heart, and loved to hear it preached well, no matter of what creed the preacher was. His son wrote of him that he never heard him speak an uncharitable word of any denomination; which was well nigh a saintly miracle in the Berkshire of his time. He was of clear and vigorous intellect, and, although without school education, of acquired intelligence which gave his opinions great force among his neighbors. In his general intercourse he was cordial, helpful, and honest. His household was sober, but not sombre. In it he was tender but firm, full of instruction in religion and morals, and dearly loved by his children. How much of character George N. Briggs inherited from such parents, and what lessons were impressed upon his infant mind in such a home, was apparent in all his after-life.

When George was seven years old the family removed to Manchester, Vermont, which lies among mountain scenery much like that which first greeted his eyes. Two years afterwards, however, in 1805, they again removed to the village of White Creek, Washington County, New York. Here happened an event which had very great influence upon all his after life. When he was in his fourteenth year, a very exciting revival of religion, such as was at that period frequent, occurred in White Creek. He yielded to its power, and was received into the Baptist Church of the village. No sooner was he baptized than he began to exhort others to seek salvation. "His extreme youth," says his biographer, Professor Richards, "gave to his ardent appeals an extraordinary charm, and carried them to many hearts with resistless effect." Ex-Governor Hiland Hall, one of the historians of Vermont, whose acquaintance with him began at this time, says:

"His eloquent, and what were deemed almost miraculous, addresses drew together great crowds of people, and elicited very general and extensive appreciation and admiration." It is not improbable that this appreciation of his boyish oratory may have inspired him with the desire, which afterwards prevailed, to seek a profession in which the living voice is a power. The religious convictions and sentiments inspired in him by the revival were, however, not evanescent, but continued with increasing power to his life's end. But whatever aspirations the boy George may have had, he passed three years in learning the hatter's trade with one John Allen, a Friend. He learned it well and loved it well. Years afterwards, when a lady in a brilliant company asked him at what college he was graduated, he replied gravely and courteously: "At a hatter's shop, madam." Visiting a large hat-manufactory in Methuen, when governor, he said that if it had not been for the apparent affectation of the thing he would have taken off his coat, rolled up his sleeves, and joined in the work; adding, with his characteristic genial smile, "I believe I could make a good hat now, in the old way. I always liked to do it. It was comfortable work."

But a hatter for life he was not to be. After three years in good John Allen's shop, George attended a respectable grammar-school for one year, his studies being often interrupted by the necessity of "doing the chores" for a family of ten or twelve. This completed his school education. But, as country schools, even grammar-schools, then were, a youth, after he had been taught reading, writing, and arithmetic in the imperfect manner of these institutions, was best out of them, if he had the zeal and good sense to apply these instrumentalities in obtaining a higher education by means of books and intercourse with well-informed men. The schools served to awaken the mind, give it some direction, and lay the foundations of knowledge; but their pupils, even while they continued pupils, gained a large portion of their education outside the school-house, and often in their own homes. A keen mind eagerly seeking knowledge gains much without specific extraneous aid. With such an education as could thus be obtained, George N. Briggs, at the age of seventeen, determined upon the study of the law or of medicine as a profession; and, for this purpose, with five dollars, earned in the haying-field, left home in August, 1813, to seek aid from his elder brother Rufus, — a man of much executive talent, residing at Saugerties, New York, as the confidential business agent of Chancellor Livingston, who had a large property in that vicinity. What is more to our present purpose, Rufus commanded some moderate pecuniary means, and possessed a generous nature, warm family affections, and sound judgment.

With the aid given and promised by this noble-spirited brother, and with pure and Christian advice from him, George proceeded to his native town of Adams, and became a student in the law office of Ambrose Kasson, who was represented to be a man of ability. After a year's study there, he changed to the law office of Luther Washburn, in Lanesboro'. This town, much nearer the centre of the county than Adams, was at that time very flourishing, and specially noted for the high general intelligence of its citizens, and the number among them of more than ordinary intellectual power. Mr. Washburn was one of the best lawyers in his section; and being, moreover, a pleasant and popular man, his office became a sort of club-room to which the better class of citizens resorted for conversation and debate upon current topics, as other classes did to the village taverns and "stores." The conversation was often animated; but the young law student had a happy faculty of abstracting his mind, and devoting it to the book he was conning, when he deemed it best. Often, however, the discussions in that office must have been worth more to a keen student than mere book lore.

The years he passed at Lanesboro' in the study of the law were in other respects a marked era in his life, and determined to a great extent its success. At this time he fully developed that wonderful faculty for making friends, which was one of his most distinguishing characteristics. In the list of those whose friendship he then gained, and which included all the people of the town and many outside of it, was the Hon. Henry Shaw. Mr. Shaw was a very wealthy man, as wealth was then counted, and of very great ability, — ability which was somewhat weakened in its power by eccentricity. He was the son of a Vermont Congressman, and was himself soon afterwards chosen to represent the Berkshire District. Mr. Shaw followed Henry Clay in his support of a tariff, and also of the Missouri Compromise. The latter cost him his seat in Congress; but he discovered what was in the young law student near him, and gave him his friendship and advice. It was probably his teaching and guidance that made George N. Briggs, throughout his whole life, an ardent friend of the protective system, as he more fully showed himself to be after he became personally associated with Mr. Clay and other leading advocates of that system.

His brother Rufus died in 1816, leaving him dependent solely upon himself for support. This support he gained as a copyist, and by other clerical work in the office in which he was studying; which was also the office of the register of deeds. He also taught school during the winter. He found himself embarrassed in his law studies by his ignorance of the Latin language, of which the phraseology of the law consisted at that time more largely than it now does, and he learned that language in a village school, the master of which happened to be qualified to teach it. To so apt a pupil, the task was not difficult.

In 1817 his religious feelings were quickened by a revival of religion, in which he took a leading part, and which resulted in the establishment of a Baptist Church in Lanesboro'. The Church consisted of but twelve members at its organization; but one of these was Harriet, daughter of Ezra and Tryphena Hall, a beautiful girl "of great vivacity of mind and manner." She became the wife of the young student. They were married May 28, 1818, by the Rev. Silas Churchill, at New Lebanon, New York. She was born at Lanesboro', July 4, 1794. Her father, Ezra Hall, was born at New Fairfield, Connecticut, December 5, 1761, and her mother at Lanesboro', December 10, 1769.

The children of George Nixon and Harriet Briggs, omitting one who died in infancy, are as follows: —

1. Harriet Celestice, born at Lanesboro', April 27, 1819, was married September 25, 1845, to Captain Charles H. Bigelow, of the engineer corps of the United States Army, but then resident in Boston. He was a son of Tyler Bigelow of Boston. He died at New Bedford April 5, 1862, leaving no children.

2. George Patrick Briggs was born at Adams, March 4, 1822. He graduated at Williams College in 1842; commenced the practice of the law at Boston in 1846, as partner with Anson Burlingame; but removed in 1848 to Lawrence, where he entered into the wholesale paper trade. On his father's death he returned to Pittsfield and took charge of the homestead farm, without entirely relinquishing the law. In 1867 and 1868 he travelled in Europe and Egypt, writing home letters of great merit, many of which have been published in a small edition of an elegant book for private circulation. He married Cornelia, daughter of Dr. Erastus Cushing of Cleveland, August 4, 1856. She died at Cleveland, June 3, 1858,

aged 23. October 6, 1875, he married Mrs. Sarah Elisabeth Leland, daughter of the Hon. Isaac and Mrs. Eunice (Hovey) Livermore of Cambridge. He died at Pittsfield March 26, 1882, leaving no issue.

3. Henry Shaw Briggs was born at Lanesboro', August 1, 1824; was graduated at Williams College in 1844; studied law in Pittsfield and at the Harvard Law School; was admitted to the bar in 1848, and began practice at Pittsfield. He was, in succession, Representative in the Legislature of 1856, Police Judge of Pittsfield, and Commissioner of Insolvency for the county. He left an important case which he was trying at Boston, to enter the army, or take his place in it, at almost the very beginning of the War of the Rebellion, and served to the end as captain, colonel, and brigadier-general, being very severely wounded and narrowly escaping capture at the Battle of Fair Oaks. Since the war he has been Judge of the District Court of Southern Berkshire, State Auditor, and one of the commissioners to equalize the assessment of duties in the national custom-houses. He married, August 6, 1849, Mary Elisabeth, daughter of Nehemiah Platt Talcott, the marriage taking place at New Lebanon, New York, the same clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Churchill, officiating, who officiated at the marriage of his father, in the same town in 1818. His children are: 1. George N. Briggs, born at Pittsfield, April 27, 1850; married April 15, 1874, Martha Isabella, daughter of James M. and Martha A. (Buckley) Burt of Brooklyn, New York; 2. Mary Talcott, born at Pittsfield, July 4, 1853; 3. Henry Allen, born May 30, 1856; 4. Cornelia Cushing, born June 12, 1858.

In the month of October, 1818, Mr. Briggs was admitted to the bar at Lenox, and immediately opened an office at Adams. He was admitted an attorney of the Supreme Court in September, 1821, and a counsellor in 1823. His professional success at first came slowly. In later years, with characteristic humor, he told of "a pedestrian excursion over the hills to borrow a horse to ride ten miles to pay five dollars of borrowed money." His pecuniary success was impeded by his conscientious discouragement of litigation; it being his custom to advise his clients to keep out of court if they possibly could, — a practice not so common in Berkshire then as it has since become. There were then about forty practising lawyers scattered among the less than forty thousand inhabitants of the county. There were no great masses of business such as there now are, and the lawyer's practice was restricted mainly to the collection of debts, the drawing of written instruments, advice to a comparatively few clients, and the defence of persons charged with crimes, generally of a petty character. The requirements for admission to practice were peculiarly restrictive to the young lawyer. They demanded of those "liberally educated," as George N. Briggs was not, three years of faithful study; of those not so educated, four years in the office and under the guidance of a counsellor at law, before they could be admitted to practice as attorneys in the court of Common Pleas. Some years' practice in that court was demanded before the aspirant was admitted to practice in the Supreme Judicial Court, and two years more before he could obtain a final degree as counsellor at law.

On the day after his admission as an attorney in the Supreme Court, Mr. Briggs, undertaking as a junior counsel in a trial to interrogate a witness, was sternly forbidden by the Chief Justice, because he was not a counsellor. With restrictions like these a young lawyer's advancement was necessarily slow. Mr. Briggs, however, made his way steadily. A single effort finally established his reputation at the bar. He was assigned by the court to the defence of an Indian charged with murder, and, believing his client innocent, exerted himself to his utmost;

and, although the Indian was convicted, the young advocate at once attained distinction by his logical argument and the eloquence of his appeal to the jury. Many years afterwards it was proved that he was right, and that his client was hanged for a crime of which he was not guilty. In his law practice he is described by his contemporary, the Hon. Increase Sumner of Great Barrington, as lucid and methodical; grave, candid, and earnest in his arguments before the court and in his addresses to the jury; showing exemplary fidelity to his clients, a devoted love of truth, and a tender sympathy with the sufferings which became known to him in his large practice.

During the period in which he was in active practice there was no railroad communication with Lenox, the county seat. The sessions of the courts rarely exceeded two weeks; and it was the custom for the lawyers to assemble on the night before the courts opened, and continue in Lenox until the final adjournment. They mostly boarded in one or two houses, and there was hospitable entertainment at the homes of the resident lawyers and county officers. The Berkshire Bar thus constituted a club of great value in moulding the character of its members in morals and manners as well as in legal attainments. Mr. Briggs was among the foremost of its members. In that school he was an apt pupil, and finally an accomplished instructor. An instance illustrating this occurred in his later years, after he had become a member of the judiciary. He was at that time recognized as the most prominent lay member of the Baptist denomination in the country. He was also much sought for in the society of Berkshire. One evening, while holding court at Lenox, he was invited to the parlors of a fashionable woman from the city, who had a very beautiful daughter. Neither mother nor daughter was so well informed as to other matters as they were in those of "society." Neither of them was aware of the Governor's religious faith. Some reference being made to a distinguished Baptist gentleman, the daughter exclaimed, "Why, Mamma, I thought only low people were Baptists!" The expression upon the countenances of all others in the room told the mother that something was wrong, and she attempted to rectify it by saying, "Why no, my dear; low and high in society have nothing to do with religion; I suppose you mean to say that Baptist people are generally not very well educated." The mother was as ill-informed as the daughter. But Governor Briggs did not indicate by the slightest change of expression that he had heard the remarks at all. He was intensely interested in examining some beautiful illustrations of Judd's novel, Margaret. As he closed the book he said, with the genial smile which was one of his most pleasant characteristics: "This Margaret is a wonderful book. The author gives us a perfect picture of New England life in the years which followed the close of the Revolutionary war. His heroine is a strange, but beautiful creation. Mr. Judd's creed is different from mine; but he exhibits a truly Christian spirit in his application of religious principles to private life and public affairs, and I can hold fellowship with all who teach as he does, in their efforts for human welfare, however I may differ from them otherwise." Of course his exact words may not be given, but they are quoted with as much exactness as is possible when repeated from memory after the lapse of twenty-five years. In substance they are perfectly correct. The reproof, if any was intended, was very gentle; but the next day a gentleman who had been present remarked, "The Governor surpassed himself in his courtesy in that awkward affair last night." "Yes," said a lady, "but was there keen wit or sly humor in what he said about Margaret?" "It does not matter; it all shows him a well-bred gentleman." From what schools that breeding came has been told.

But, to return to his earlier life, in the first twelve years after his admission to the bar, he attained but little distinction, except as a lawyer. While at Adams he was proposed as a candidate for the Legislature, but, as "he had no property," he was not nominated. In 1824 he was chosen town-clerk of Lanesboro', and in 1826 was appointed by Governor Lincoln chairman of the commissioners of highways for Berkshire County, a board nearly corresponding to the present county commissioners. It had much power, and was, in connection with the Hampshire board, called upon to decide important questions during Mr. Briggs's term. In 1828 his friend, Henry Shaw, proposed his name to Governor Lincoln for the office of district attorney; but Mr. Shaw's influence with the state administration was not great at that moment, and his advice was not heeded. Mr. Briggs's popular strength was not tested at the polls until 1830, when he was chosen over strong competitors a Representative in Congress from the Berkshire district.

In his earliest days, like most Baptists of that era, he was a Democrat; but in the re-organization of parties which was going on when he attained his majority, he became attached to that class of politicians, which, much under the lead of Henry Clay, afterwards became the Whig party. He was opposed to Mr. Clay's course regarding the Missouri Compromise; but he respected his motives even in that. He early became an ardent supporter of that statesman on the tariff question. The business men of Berkshire, then as since, were firm and anxious believers in the value of a protective system; and at the many meetings which they held to favor it, Mr. Briggs was a frequent and able speaker, to which he may have owed his first election. His course on this question certainly helped him in many subsequent political contests. He was also already well known as a zealous advocate of total abstinence from the use of even the most mild intoxicating drinks; and, much as the community were divided upon that question, this may have added to his popularity. Besides, he had in debate a special faculty of pleasing his friends without personally offending his opponents. There is no doubt that he was in 1830 in full accord with the best sentiment of the county on all points which could much affect political action.

During his twelve years in Congress he did not seek leadership in debate, nor was he a very frequent speaker, although his voice was not wanting when occasion required. His speeches were thoughtful, earnest, consistent, and effective, and always distinguished for calmness and suavity. Still, like that of Jefferson, his influence exercised in social intercourse and conversational discussion, was greater than in debate on the floor of the House. He belonged to what was known as the anti-slavery wing of the Whig party, and his strongest speech was in opposition to the admission of Arkansas to the Union with a clause in its Constitution forbidding its legislature to abolish slavery without the consent of the slave-owners; and yet some of his warmest personal friends among the members of Congress were from the extreme South, and even among those most ardently opposed to his views with regard to slavery. In the twenty-seventh Congress he was chairman of the committee on the Post Office on the part of the House, and did excellent service.

He was a shrewd observer of men and affairs, and his letters to his family during this portion of his public life, often quaint in their simplicity, are full of interest to the student of the congressional history of the period. Many of them are printed in his biography.

In 1842 he removed from Lanesboro' to the adjoining town of Pittsfield, where intercourse with the outer world had become more easy, on account of the building of the Western, now the Boston and Albany, Railroad.

In 1843 he was the Whig candidate for governor of the Commonwealth and, there being no choice by the people, he was chosen by the legislature in January, 1844. From that time he gained rapidly in popularity, and was re-elected by large majorities until 1851. Previous to the meeting of the Whig convention in 1850 he published a letter desiring that he might not be again nominated; but the convention insisted upon doing it, and he submitted to their decision. This was the time of the successful coalition of the Free-Soil and Democratic parties, and, although he received a large plurality of the popular vote, the law requiring a majority at that time, he was defeated in the legislature by the Hon. George S. Boutwell. It is a singular coincidence in Massachusetts history that his immediate predecessor and his immediate successor in office were opposed to him in politics, and that all three were elected by the legislature. The later years of his administration were beset by difficulties, on account of the crisis which had been reached upon the question of slavery, and for other reasons. As he had done before, while maintaining his position as an anti-slavery Whig, he was so consistently conservative as to serve neither side in a partisan manner.

Two problems especially difficult of solution troubled him during his administration. One related to the Mexican war, which he believed to be unnecessary and unjust. The question arose, whether Massachusetts should aid the General Government in raising troops for it. He finally decided that it ought not to do so; but in this the legislature shared the responsibility with him. The other question arose from the conviction of Professor Webster for the murder of Dr Parkman. The sympathies of the whole community were stirred in favor of the doomed man, as they never have been in Massachusetts for any other so convicted; and for his family. The most powerful influences were brought to bear upon Governor Briggs to induce him to grant a pardon. Petitions for this or for a commutation of the sentence poured in from all quarters; from Dr. Webster himself, from his family, from the opponents of capital punishment, and from thousands who were moved merely by pity. The heart of the Governor strongly inclined him to mercy, although he believed the murder to be one of more than ordinary atrocity in some respects, and he had no doubt that the verdict and sentence were perfectly just. The most painful part of his duty was to resist the personal appeals of Dr. Webster's family and intimate friends; and it is believed that his experience in this case influenced him strongly in his desire to retire from the gubernatorial office the next year. Believing, however, that the public safety and the sanctity of the law required that the sentence should be carried out, he firmly refused to interfere; and Professor Webster manfully declared that the decision was right.

Governor Briggs maintained the same firm and conscientious regard for duty during his whole term. Of course, in every administration, and especially when perplexing political changes are going on, as there were during the larger part of Governor Briggs's term of office, many things will occur which the incumbent would rather avoid than meet; but although, as we have seen, he was not a man to shirk his duty, his execution of it was in the main not unpleasing to his feelings. He was sustained by friends all over the State, and particularly in Boston, where both Amos Lawrence and his brother Abbott were among the warmest and most conspicuous. The list included all the Whigs of the city, and, when party questions were not at issue, not a few of his political opponents. Although the times were getting politically out of joint, the Governor did not seek his own advantage by adjusting his course to them, but pursued his straightforward way.

In all the turmoil he found opportunities for beneficent action and duties to be performed, incidental to his office, which were quite as congenial to his nature, to say the least, as those directly required of him by law. There could be no more thorough friend of public education, from the primary school to the university, than he. When he declared himself a graduate of a hatter's shop, it was merely to show that he was not ashamed but proud of good mechanical work. He had learned much from the free schools of the State; but no man knew better than he how miserably imperfect the public-school system of Massachusetts had become, whatever a severe student could do under all its disadvantages. When, on his accession to the governor's chair, he found Horace Mann struggling in his earliest arduous efforts not so much to reform as to entirely remake the system, he gave him his heartiest co-operation. In this connection an incident most characteristic of the Governor is told in Mr. Mann's biography. In 1845 Mr. Mann determined upon the experiment, which has proved very successful, of holding teachers' institutes all over the State. There were to be four that year, and, as if to "take the bull by the horns," the first or second was fixed at Pittsfield, which Mr. Mann described as lying, in the geography of public schools, in the "Arctic regions, above the line heretofore of perpetual congelation." The institute was appointed in a central school-house, and a hundred teachers were expected to meet at nine o'clock in the forenoon. Governor Briggs and Secretary Mann went to the school-room at seven o'clock, and found it unswept and repulsive. The Governor borrowed two brooms at a neighboring house; and the two eminent public officers swept and garnished the house to prepare it for a class by whom it had been left dirty. The successors of the teachers of that day are reaping the advantage of that cleansing, as well as much more of a metaphorical kind, and have learned to be fastidious as to neat school-rooms every day. The county is no longer below the freezing-point in its intelligent interest in public schools. In the preceding year, 1844, the second normal school in the State, which had been established at Barre in 1839, was removed to Westfield, and Governor Briggs delivered the inaugural address, in which he acknowledged his obligation, "as a poor boy who once sat on the hard seats of the old district schools, to plead, as chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, for the cause of common-school education."

His interest in education did not end with the common schools or even with the normal. He had learned too well what it costs to overcome the lack of a liberal education not to hold in honor the institutions which provide it; and, not even among their own alumni, did the colleges of the State have a warmer friend than George N. Briggs.

He received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Williams College in 1828, and that of Doctor of Laws from both Harvard and Williams in 1844, and from Amherst in 1845. In 1845 he was chosen a trustee of Williams College, and was devoted to its interests from that time until his death. In 1846 it fell to his lot, as governor, to induct a man so illustrious as Edward Everett into the office of president of Harvard College; and this "graduate of a hatter's shop," and of the Berkshire Bar as well, performed that duty with a grace and dignity which could not be surpassed, and with a most felicitous address, in its simplicity, modesty, and historical allusion.

Governor Briggs was exceedingly happy in occasional speeches; a faculty which was well illustrated at commencement dinners, and on similar occasions. He had treasured up a great number of Revolutionary and other traditional stories, and told them with fine effect. In his love and reverence for the fathers of the Republic, and constant recurrence to their memories, he had much of the spirit of Daniel Webster.

His admission to the New England Historic Genealogical Society was as an honorary member, on February 5, 1847. In the work of this society, and of others with kindred objects, he took the deepest possible interest. He had little leisure to examine into the accuracy of dates or to trace genealogies; but his anecdotes and traditionary stories have been well confirmed when compared with the record. He loved not only essential truth, but accuracy in its statement, and he well understood the value of genealogies. When, in Congress, he heard his party taunted as "aristocratic," he retorted that it was a strange sort of aristocracy which sent the son of a blacksmith to represent it in Congress; but there was no one who better, or more filially, recognized what he owed to his ancestry, whatever their occupation was, or was more anxious to preserve their names and history for posterity. The relations of kinship were very dearly prized by him.

It was a feeling akin to this that gave rise to the historic and unique Berkshire Jubilee, which was held in 1844, and gathered at Pittsfield a great number of the sons and daughters of that county from all over the land. Its object was to revive and intensify the love of the emigrants from Berkshire, as well as of its residents, for their old home; and to make a brotherhood of Berkshire men everywhere. It originated with men of note who had left the county, including the Rev. Dr. R. S. Cook, Joshua A. Spencer, Judge Samuel R. Betts, David Dudley Field, Theodore Sedgwick, the Rev. Dr. Orville Dewey, and William Cullen Bryant. The public exercises consisted of an oration by the Hon. Joshua A. Spencer of Utica, New York; a poem by the Rev. Dr. William Allen, author of the first American biographical dictionary; a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Mark Hopkins; with shorter addresses and poems by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mrs. Frances A. Kemble, Dr. Dewey, David Dudley Field, the Rev. Dr. John Todd, Miss Catherine M. Sedgwick, and other Berkshire men and women of note. Over this great gathering Governor Briggs presided with his usual ability, and did much to give it character. In what was said in those speeches there was not perfect accuracy in the statement of historic facts. They, as was natural in the reminiscence of such an occasion, had both the merits and demerits of tradition. They served to turn thought in the direction of historic investigation, and to show where the truth lay hid. The Berkshire Jubilee did much to excite an interest in local history, although not so much as a similar meeting at a later date might have done. But seed is not planted at harvest time.

Both while congressman and while governor, his devotion to the cause of temperance was one of his most distinguishing traits. Indeed he was popularly best known for that; partly because it was rare among men holding high political position. Personally he had totally abstained from the use of intoxicating drinks before the commencement of the great temperance reformation. In his youth he had become addicted to the use of strong drinks to a degree which is to be measured by the incident which led to his complete abandonment of them. It had been so constant a practice with him to have brandy with his dinner, that, dining with a sister on Thanksgiving Day, he could not eat, because it had not been provided. His first thought was to leave the table and procure a draught to stimulate his appetite; his second was: "If I have become such a slave to brandy that I cannot, without its permission, eat a Thanksgiving dinner at my sister's table, it is time that I rebelled against it." And he did so successfully, although at the cost of his dinner that day, and some conflict afterward.

In the discussions of 1828, while temperance men were yet divided on the question whether total abstinence was essential, he very ardently advocated it as desirable if not essential. In 1835 he adopted it as indispensable.

At the organization of the Congressional Temperance Society in 1833, he was prominent, and was one of the four members of its executive committee. The Washingtonian temperance movement of 1840, originating among humble men, extended to the national legislators. Mr. Briggs became intensely interested in it, and induced several of his fellow-members who were inordinately addicted to the use of intoxicating drinks to join in it, among them the eloquent Thomas F. Marshall of Kentucky. Mr. Marshall relapsed, but expressed the warmest gratitude to his friend at the time; and many years afterwards, when he visited Pittsfield on a lecturing tour, at a time when Governor Briggs was absent from the town, he paid a most glowing tribute to him as a man, although he did not pretend to any great affection for the mass of Northern people. Mr. Briggs's efforts were, however, not confined to his congressional associates, but extended to all classes, both white and colored, both at home and in the capital. At the close of his congressional life he received from the Freemen's Total Abstinence Society of Washington an exquisitely wrought gold medal. This and other medals of the same character he called in his family circle, his "crown jewels." In 1856 he was chosen president of the American Temperance Union, and continued in that office until his death.

In this connection it may be well to correct a widely circulated misstatement as to the cause or origin of a peculiarity in Governor Briggs's dress. From his first appearance in public life, he never wore a linen neck collar, contenting himself with a narrow black stock or silk neckerchief. An explanation of this habit, originating in the correspondence of a leading religious newspaper, has often been republished; but it is entirely false. It is to the effect that Congressman Briggs agreed with Congressman Marshall, that he would refrain from the use of neck collars, as long as Marshall would refrain from the use of alcoholic drinks; and that he persisted although Marshall did not. There is not a word of truth in this statement, which is constantly repeated. The simple facts are, that when Mr. Briggs was chosen chairman of the highway commissioners in 1826, he was obliged to ride through many miles of dusty highway, and travel many more on foot. Being of a full habit, and inclined to perspire freely, the conditions were not conducive to tidiness. There were but few facilities for laundry, and none for purchasing clean linen in those days, and Commissioner Briggs, accepting the situation, altogether gave up his collars, which were of great expanse in the fashion of the day. Finding that this added greatly to his comfort, he never resumed their use. In another version of the temperance story, a wealthy gentleman of the old school, and a near neighbor of Governor Briggs, is made to take the place of "Tom Marshall." This gentleman kept up the convivial customs of his class at his hospitable table, and at one of his social parties, the Governor, being bantered upon his eccentricity in neck-wear, playfully replied that he would wear a collar to his life's end if his host would give up his wine. Nothing came of it except, perhaps, the false newspaper story, and it is probable that nothing more than a jest was intended.

When Governor Briggs, in 1851, returned to private life he resumed the practice of the law, which he had relinquished when he was elected in 1843, his old sign reappearing side by side with that of his youngest son. In August, 1853, he was appointed by Governor Clifford a judge of the court of Common Pleas, all the other judges of that court having joined in requesting the appointment. In 1858 the court of Common Pleas was abolished, and the Superior Court established in its place. In accordance with the policy of Governor Banks, none of the judges of the old court were appointed in the reorganization. During his continuance on the bench Judge Briggs manifested the good judgment and love of justice which was to have been expected of him. His public life, or rather his official life, closed when he left the bench, although he was only sixty-two years old and in the full vigor of his intellect.

The earlier part of the year 1861 was a period of depression and gloom, unprecedented in his life. The threatening, and then the breaking out, of the civil war affected him powerfully and sadly. His youngest son, Henry S., was captain of the local militia company, which had just been reorganized for active service with special reference to this emergency, and which, at his own request, was the first to be called to the defence of Washington from Western Massachusetts under President Lincoln's first call for troops. This, however, was not so much the cause of Governor Briggs's gloom at this time as his anxiety for the country, strong as his family affection was; and it could not have been stronger. The danger to the Union from the agitation of the slavery question was the constant dread of statesmen of his generation and his class; and he shared it to the full, however much his acts regarding it may have been modified by his moral and religious convictions. On the twentieth of February he wrote a letter to a Southern friend with whom he had long corresponded, which is an admirable exposition of the attitude of Massachusetts upon the slavery question. It is full of feeling; and some paragraphs so well exhibit the character of the writer and his views at this time, that we quote them, premising that the remainder of the letter was very conciliatory: —

> The North believes the government has the right to protect its property and execute its laws. With all the provocation it has received, has it done any violence? I think the general sentiment of the North is against war and bloodshed. God grant it may always be. With all the excitements and warlike movements at the South you would be surprised to witness the quiet at the North.

Compare the calm, conciliatory language of the President-elect with the language and tone of the President of the new confederacy. What a contrast! I need not ask you which accords best with your own feelings. Mr. Davis may some time learn that such language neither excites fear nor creates respect at the North.

Our national condition is sad and gloomy. I fear that we have all so underestimated our numerous blessings, and been so forgetful of the bountiful Giver, that He is about to leave us to bring upon ourselves, by our own madness, the chastisement which we deserve. But He reigns, and will reign. He can make the wrath of men to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He will restrain.

Let the political commotions be what they may, my dear sir, may you and I cherish love for our Master and love for each other.

These words of Governor Briggs portray more clearly than any of ours could, his feelings and position in the great crisis; and they also help to illustrate his religious character. Without hesitation or wavering, he approved the course of his son in preparing for, and taking part in, the great conflict; but when he finally left for the field, while war was as yet unfamiliar, his sister writes: "A bruised reed was our father that day. . . . At home there was only patient waiting, earnest praying, faith in God, and life's daily duty." This was the spirit which governed the life of Governor Briggs and with which he imbued his household. He watched the course of the Allen Guard, his son's company, with intense and tender interest; and when it returned, and attended divine service in the Baptist Church, he addressed the members in his most eloquent, feeling, and impassioned manner. A listener reports thus: "He spoke to them of patriotism, declaring it to comprehend love of home and country; respect and obedience to law; and the fulfilment, with a loyal and true heart, of all the duties of the citizen to the government and to the country. The opposite of patriotism is spoken in one word, — treason; and the opposite of the patriot is the traitor!"

From this time "the incidents of the war were the most engrossing of earthly things to his mind," and his letters regarding it are valuable historical material. On the eighteenth of July he went with his family to bid farewell to his son, who, having been appointed colonel of the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment, left Springfield that day for the front. He had a presentiment that it would be their last meeting; but not that his own death would make it so, although his utterances indicated that he believed that event to be not very remote. In the latter part of August he made a brief but hearty address of welcome to the Hon. Joseph Holt of Kentucky, who, while making Union speeches at the North, visited Pittsfield.

On the morning of the fourth of September, immediately after family worship, he read the announcement in a newspaper that he had, with Mr. Holt, been appointed umpire in a dispute between the governments of the United States and New Grenada, and seemed pleased to be again engaged in the public service. He had for some time been recovering his wonted cheerfulness, and that day seemed much like his old self, visiting the office of the insurance company of which he was president, and other familiar places. His last work at his library table was the characteristic one of writing a letter of commendation for a young friend. He lived at this time in a spacious and comfortable country house of brick, with some twenty acres of land adjacent, in a locality about a mile west of the centre of the village of Pittsfield, and which commanded fine views of Berkshire scenery. Having purchased it in 1849, he had taken great pleasure in improving the place, both as a farm and a residence, until, in 1861, it was a delightful and attractive home, especially adapted to his own tastes and habits, while it was loved by all who enjoyed its hospitality, as well as by those to whom it dispensed charity, who were many. It was there that he was residing on that sunny fourth of September. In his visit to the village he had been unusually playful, and related anecdotes and traditions with zest. He returned with exhilaration of feeling. Shortly afterwards some ladies were thrown upon his hospitality by an accident to their carriage in front of his house. He entertained them at dinner with more than his usual vivacity, and prepared to complete his courtesy by conveying them to their home. In doing so he was taking down a light overcoat, when a loaded gun fell. He stooped to raise it, when it was discharged. Speaking to his wife, with whom he had just exchanged a few pleasant words, he said, "It has burned my face, Harriet." But he immediately raised his hand to his cheek and exclaimed, "It is all gone." His eldest son, George P., who was at home, rushed into the room. While efforts were making to stanch his fearful wound, the sufferer said faintly: "You placed the gun in the wrong place;" and, after a brief pause, he added, "I shall soon die; but it is all right. Now pray with me, my son." When the prayer ceased he again said, "I shall soon die; it is strange that in my peaceful home I should meet the fate of the battle-field." The physicians of the town were soon at his bedside; but the management of the case was, by common consent, committed to Professor Timothy Childs of the Berkshire Medical College, who, in local practice and as surgeon of the Massachusetts regiment in the Mexican war, had large experience in the treatment of gun-shot wounds. He knew at once that the wound was almost sure to prove fatal, and that what little chance there was of saving the patient, lay in inspiring him with hope. In this, co-operating with the trustful and religious spirit of Governor Briggs, he succeeded so far as to prolong his life for a few days. Those were days which showed that his religious faith was a reality, and brought out most touchingly the family affection which was, next to religious sentiment and faith, the most conspicuous element in his nature. This was and is a family characteristic, inherited and transmitted. The love of kindred, as manifested in the instances already mentioned and in many others, ran through the family, and is a matter worthy the notice of philosophical genealogists. He desired that his son, Colonel Briggs, should not be called home, as active movements in McClellan's army, to which he was attached, were immediately expected; but, beside his eldest son, his daughter, Mrs. Bigelow, and her husband were with him, as well as his eldest brother and youngest sister. The loving tenderness in his intercourse with all, was shown by incidents of the most touching nature.

His resignation to the Divine Will was perfect. Finding that he was believed to be despondent, he wrote on the slate, which had become his only means of communication: "How you all misunderstand me! No, no low spirits! You are all so kind. But Heaven, Heaven is better." In these words he condensed substantially all the various expressions of his feeling while he lay in the hourly expectation of death. Late in the afternoon of the tenth of September, the venerable Dr. Henry H. Childs, President of the Medical College, and his lifelong personal friend and political opponent, visited him with the other physicians, Governor Briggs being a deacon in the Baptist Church, ex-Lieutenant-Governor Childs a deacon in the Congregational. Mrs. Bigelow writes that never in her father's brightest days was their meeting more cheerful; and before they parted they exchanged the liveliest expressions of delight in the prospect of another life, which in the course of events could not be far distant, Dr. Childs being the elder by thirteen years.

On the morning of the eleventh he awoke, apparently conscious that it would be his last on earth. During the night he had been without pain, but had obtained no rest.

When the surgeons paid their last visit at four o'clock in the afternoon it was evident both to him and them that the end was rapidly approaching. Professor Childs's face told more than his words, and Governor Briggs, fully comprehending it, wrote, "I want to be placed in a plain metallic case." He then sank into a pleasant sleep, from which he woke at six o'clock. He said; "It will come pretty soon." His daughter endeavored to reassure him; but he repeated the same words. She writes, "Then he said, 'You will not leave me again, will you?' 'No, Father, I shall stay here all night.' Then he fondled my hands, never so tenderly, as I thought; gave a little nod, very characteristic of him when he felt entirely satisfied, and immediately sank into a gentle sleep. He never woke again. Sixteen long hours that dear hand lay motionless in mine, warm as his dear heart through life — till life was gone."

At nine o'clock on the morning of the twelfth of September, his breathing ceased. In the town his death had been anticipated for several days; and yet the announcement of it was received almost as though there had been no premonition of it. Every possible demonstration of mourning was made. The funeral services at the Baptist Church were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Lemuel Porter, who had for some years been Governor Briggs's pastor and intimate personal friend; but all the Protestant clergy of the town took part in it, including the Rev. John Todd, D.D., who had for years been his warm friend. The attendance of distinguished citizens from a distance, and of delegations from societies with which he was connected, was large.

The sun had set, and it was by the light of the moon and stars that the body of George N. Briggs was tenderly laid to rest in a lot, selected and prepared by himself, in the beautiful Pittsfield cemetery. The monument which has been placed upon his grave is remarkably in consonance with his character and tastes. It is a granite sarcophagus, across which lengthwise extends a white marble cross, while over one end hangs a scroll on which is inscribed a paragraph from his last letter to his son in the army, dated August 20, 1861: "Remember this is from a father who in the course of nature will not tax you to read his letters a great while longer. Never forget or neglect, my son, the Best Friend you have in the universe, who will never forsake you if you do not forsake Him. I think every day of my fleeting life. I more and more love Him who is altogether lovely and chiefest among ten thousand. I hope one day to be with Him and see him as He is."

Public attention at the time of Governor Briggs's death was almost entirely absorbed in exciting events of the war, then at a point when anxiety was deepest; but the journals everywhere, and especially those of a religious character, paid a fitting tribute to his memory, and gave biographical sketches of his life. Those of Zion's Herald and the Boston Daily Journal were of special excellence.

Mrs. Briggs survived her husband and died at Pittsfield, May 11, 1876.

In 1866 a very full biography of Governor Briggs by Professor William C. Richards, a writer of note and then pastor of the Baptist Church of Pittsfield, was published by Gould and Lincoln of Boston; but has for some years been out of print. It contains the funeral sermon by the Rev. Dr. Porter, reminiscences, and estimates of Governor Briggs's character, by those who had known him at various periods of his life. In addition to this, there are many of his own letters and speeches. Much of this is valuable historical matter regarding himself and other men and events of his day.

To return to his religious and personal character. Governor Briggs retained his faith in and love for the Baptist Church to the last. He lived, not only in charity but in perfect harmony with Christians of any other name. He loved the cross as the symbol of the Christian's faith. It lies upon his tomb; and when, with a generous contribution from himself, a new Baptist church was built in Pittsfield, it was through his influence that a large gilt cross was made to surmount its spire, much to the surprise of many who, through ignorance, had come to look upon that symbol as exclusively belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, — a mistake which this act did much to rectify.

In 1847 he was elected President of the American Baptist Missionary Union, the first layman chosen to that office after its organization in 1814, the Rev. Dr. Wayland being his immediate predecessor. He held the office until his death, and was greatly devoted to its work. At its meeting in Buffalo in 1850 he was specially earnest. As he left the hall he overheard a gentleman say: "It is strange that the governor of Massachusetts should be president of a Baptist missionary society." Turning to him with that look of mingled dignity and good humor which harmonized well in him, he said: "Sir, I think it more honor to be president of a Baptist missionary society than to be governor of Massachusetts." His addresses as president of this organization are among the most interesting of his speeches. While he filled this office the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions held one of its annual meetings in Pittsfield, and he took an active part in it, making addresses of much eloquence, welcoming the Board as "the elder sister" of the organization over which he himself presided.

The charities of Governor Briggs to the poor were innumerable, and the courtesy and personal interest with which he bestowed them increased their value tenfold. His kindly courtesy to all classes gained him friends daily. Instances illustrating it are too numerous to recount here; but two or three which occurred on two successive days under the personal observation of the writer of this article, in addition to those already mentioned, will suffice. In the spring of 1851 I journeyed from Pittsfield to Boston, occupying a seat by the side of the Governor in the railroad car. As we approached Westfield the car had become densely crowded, when two women, one with a child in her arms, entered. No seat was offered them by those at the end of the car at which they entered, but the Governor traversed nearly its whole length to bring them to ours. Immediately seats were offered him; but he declined them, and stood by the women, speaking soothing words to the child who had become restless. When we reached the Brookline bridge, near Boston, we found two trains hanging by a fearfully precarious hold over the water. It was necessary, in order to reach the relief train, to pass through the wreck, while the baggage was sent to the city by the highway. But among the passengers was an old Irishwoman, who could not, and would not, be separated from her only baggage, an old hair trunk, much like that which young law-student Briggs carried into Adams on his back in September, 1813, when, as he wrote, he was worth only ten dollars, and rich only in hope. She was a very wrong-headed person, to whom nothing could be satisfactorily explained; and she went, in her great distress, from one passenger to another, in quest of one to aid her, meeting nothing but rebuff, until she came to the Governor, who quietly took one handle of the trunk and she the other, and the two with no little trouble, on account of the slanting position of the path through the cars, finally landed it. The other passengers had so much to say about the exploit that she learned who her porter had been, and was ludicrously profuse in her apologies; but he assured her that what he had done gave him pleasure only, and great pleasure. He had made a friend, and almost a worshipper. The next day, while riding on the island of

Martha's Vineyard, my driver, a substantial yeoman, declared with great vigor, that, Democrat as he was, he loved Governor Briggs with his whole heart. Some years before, when the Governor was on horseback reviewing a militia regiment at New Bedford, the same man with his little daughter stood behind him, and the child cried because she could not see the troops. Hearing this, the Governor placed her before him on his horse, and when she was fully satisfied with seeing the soldiers, returned her to her father with a kiss. Such incidents as these were so frequent with him that to narrate them would fill a volume. They were a part of his character, and did much to make him loved everywhere and by all classes.

WILLIAM HYSLOP SUMNER

It has been said of Sir Walter Scott that had he not written the Waverley novels he would have been famous for his poems; but the great celebrity of the former cast a shadow over the latter. It is often seen to be the case with the descendants of a family as with the children of the brain. Some member, of signal ability in more than one direction, when placed by the side of a relative more celebrated will find his own reputation unjustly diminished by the comparison, and will be unfairly accused of shining by a reflected lustre. Instances of this fact are not uncommon in American historic families; but we need not illustrate the fact any further than with the family of the subject of this memoir, who, in the various public positions he was called upon to fill, displayed talents fully equal to their requirements, — talents that suggested a capacity for still higher stations; yet the public services of his more eminent father seem to have overshadowed his own, and to have thrown his fame into an undeserved obscurity. Yet as the unpretending pine-tree may be found as useful and valuable as the loftier oak that overtops it, so the career of General Sumner may be considered as measurably fruitful, in its way, of beneficial results as that of his more distinguished relative.

Aside from his public reputation, the life of General Sumner presents another aspect calculated to excite at once our interest and regard. He was one of the few public men who, by his exceedingly entertaining and minute reminiscences, formed a sort of connecting link between the history of our own time and that of the Revolutionary period; and so carefully prepared in detail were these personal recollections, that it is a matter of regret that the author was not called upon to prepare at greater length his impressions of the times that immediately succeeded that momentous epoch.

The ancient family of Sumner derives its name from the office of Sommoner or Somner, the duty of which was to summon parties into the ecclesiastical, and other courts. The earliest member mentioned in the family genealogy is Roger Sumner, husbandman, of Bicester, County of Oxford, England, where he married Joan Franklin, November 2, 1601. He died in 1608, and was buried at the Church of St. Edburg, Bicester, December 4 of that year. He left an only son and heir, William, who was baptized at the above-mentioned church, January 27, 1604–1605; married Mary West, October 22, 1625; came to Massachusetts with his wife and three sons, William, Roger, and George, about 1635, probably with the Rev. Richard Mather, and settled at Dorchester. He purchased a house and home lots September 15, 1637; was made freeman in that year; and admitted to the Church in 1652. William Sumner appears to have been a highly respected and influential citizen of Dorchester. He was for twenty-three years a selectman of that town, and thirteen years a deputy to the General Court, besides holding several minor offices. He is mentioned in 1645 in Blake's Annals of Dorchester as "Serjant Sumner," having been "Bayliff" that year. He died on the ninth of December, 1688, aged about eighty-four. He had, in addition to the children mentioned, two sons, Samuel and Increase, both born in Dorchester, and both moved to South Carolina; and two daughters, Joan and Abigail.

Roger, the second son, is the ancestor of the Hon. Charles Sumner, and the late General E. V. Sumner, a distinguished officer of the army.

George Sumner, third son of William and Mary (West) Sumner, was baptized at Bicester, March 1, 1633–1634. He lived for some time at Northampton. His wife was Mary, daughter of Edward Baker of Northampton, Massachusetts, whom he married November 7, 1662, and who survived him. His children were Mary, George, Samuel, William, Ebenezer, Edward, Joseph, and Benjamin. He lived on Brush Hill, Milton, and was one of the founders and deacon of the first Church of that town. He was made freeman on the sixth of May, 1657; and died at Dorchester, Massachusetts, on the eleventh of December, 1715, in the eighty-second year of his age.

Edward Sumner, sixth child, and fifth son of George and Mary (Baker) Sumner, was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, August 29, 1675; and married Elizabeth, daughter of Elder Samuel and Hannah Clap of Dorchester, September 25, 1701. They had eleven children, Edward, Elizabeth (who died in infancy), John, Elizabeth, Samuel, Increase, Hannah, Mary, Nathaniel, Ebenezer, and Benjamin. Edward Sumner, the father, was a fellmonger and glover. He was the owner of several lots in Roxbury and Dorchester, four hundred and thirty-six acres of land in Sutton, and land in Woodstock and Brookfield. He was chosen one of the surveyors of highways at Roxbury in 1711 and 1719. He died at Roxbury in 1763, aged eighty-eight. Drake, in his History of Roxbury, mentions that his death occurred in the same house in which his distinguished grandson was born.

Increase Sumner, sixth child and fourth son of Edward and Elizabeth (Clap) Sumner, was born at Roxbury, June 9, 1713. His wife Sarah, daughter of Robert Sharp of Brookline, whom he married October 28, 1736, was a relative of the Adams family, being cousin to Susannah Boylston, mother of President John Adams. Increase Sumner was a man of industry, regularity, good habits, and great physical strength. Several illustrations of the latter quality are given in his grandson's sketch of him. He largely increased the value of his estates, and at his death left considerable property. He was appointed coroner for the County of Suffolk in 1752 by Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips. He was one of the selectmen of Roxbury in 1753 and 1756. He died at Roxbury, greatly respected and much lamented, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1774, at the age of sixty-one. His wife survived him, her death occurring June 21, 1796, in her seventy-seventh year. Of their eight children, three daughters successively named Susannah and a son, Edward, died in infancy; the remaining four, Sarah, Elizabeth, Increase, and Lucy, married and had families.

In the next generation this worthy family reached its highest distinction in the person of the Hon. Increase Sumner, Judge of the Supreme Court, and fourth Governor of Massachusetts under the State Constitution. Governor Sumner was the only surviving son of Increase and Sarah (Sharp) Sumner, and was born at Roxbury, November 27, 1746. Drake, in his History of Roxbury, states that the birthplace of the future Governor was still standing in 1878, and was then about a century and a half old, "an old-fashioned, two-story, gambrel-roofed house." It formerly stood on the site of Hall's Block, on Washington Street, nearly opposite to Sumner Street; but "was moved back from the street in 1852, when the block was built. On either side of the front-door were magnificent button-woods, that were cut down more than half a century ago. The house is one of the few remaining on Roxbury Street that antedate the siege. The youthful days of the future Governor were passed here; here he kept his law office; and here his widowed mother resided until her death."

The earliest education of young Increase was obtained at the public grammar-school at Roxbury, under the Hon. William Cushing, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, who was master of the school in 1752. He continued at this school under several masters; among whom was Joseph Warren, the Revolutionary patriot, who was the master in 1760–1761. Here the young pupil made such rapid progress as to induce his instructors to urge his father to send him to college. But the father, being a substantial farmer, was more inclined to the physical than to the intellectual education of his son; and it was only after much persuasion that he yielded to his son's entreaties; and the latter entered Harvard College in 1763, at the age of sixteen, and was graduated with distinction in 1767. He was master of the grammar-school at which he had first been taught, from 1768 to 1770; and while in this position studied law with Samuel Quincy, Solicitor-General of the Province. His relative John Adams, to whom he applied for admission to his office, but who was compelled to decline his request, the Court allowing a barrister only three clerks, speaks of him at this period as "a promising genius, and a studious and virtuous youth." Although Samuel Quincy was in sympathy with the Crown in the struggle then just commencing, this fact did not entice the young student from his devotion to his country. He was admitted to the Bar in 1770, and established his office in the home of his birth at Roxbury. Here both his reputation and his practice grew steadily until, in 1776, he was elected a Representative to the General Court; which office he held for four years, when he was chosen to the upper house as a Senator for the County of Suffolk. He married Elizabeth, daughter and fourth child of William and Mehetable (Stoddard) Hyslop of Boston, September 30, 1779. By this union Mr. Sumner had three children, William Hyslop, Mehetable Stoddard, and Eliza.

In the same year, 1779, he was elected a member of the convention to form a State Constitution. As State Senator, to which office he was chosen for three years, from 1780 to 1782, in the two latter being the almost unanimous choice of his constituents, Mr. Sumner greatly increased his popularity and fame. In 1782 he had the choice of taking still higher legislative honors, or of entering the judicial service; for in June of that year he was elected a Representative to the United States Congress, and in the following August, in the place of Judge Foster, was appointed an associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. It would seem that Mr. Sumner, having passed through nearly the whole of the exciting period of the Revolution in the political councils of the State, was now desirous of the quieter methods and calmer scenes of the judiciary, to which his temperament was better adapted. He accepted the latter position, and remained on the Supreme Bench from 1782 to 1797, a period of fifteen years, with constantly augmenting reputation. On the twentieth of January, 1785, Judge Sumner was chosen by the Legislature one of the committee on the revision of the laws of the State. In 1789 he was a member of the State convention called to consider the Federal Constitution, the adoption of which he favored. It was during this period, also, that the judges were called upon to display all their firmness and forbearance, — during the stormy scenes of Shays's Rebellion, in which the courts were frequently interrupted in the performance of their duties. In April, 1797, Judge Sumner was called to the executive chair by the choice of the people, as the successor of Governor Samuel

Adams, who had declined a re-nomination. He was the first governor who sat at the new State House on Beacon Hill, that edifice having been dedicated January 11, 1798. So great was his popularity that he was re-elected in 1798 and 1799, on the latter occasion receiving the unanimous vote of one hundred and eighty towns out of three hundred and ninety-three, a fact probably unparalleled in the history of State elections. Unfortunately he was unable to manifest his appreciation of this remarkable proof of the confidence of his fellow-citizens by entering upon the duties of his office, being then in failing health. Governor Sumner's only official act after his last election was to accept the office on the twenty-ninth of May. His death occurred on the seventh of June, 1799, at his residence in Roxbury, in the fifty-third year of his age. The loss of few public men has been more sincerely lamented than that of Governor Sumner. At a time when party strife had begun to be fiercely developed, this excellent chief magistrate had succeeded in winning all hearts by his integrity, wisdom, discernment, and kindness in all the public positions he was called upon to assume. "No death," says Knapp, in his biographical sketch of him, written some years afterwards, "except Washington's, was ever more deeply deplored in Massachusetts."

William Hyslop Sumner, eldest child and only son of Governor Increase and Elizabeth (Hyslop) Sumner, and seventh in descent from Roger and Joan (Franklin) Sumner, was born in the Auchmuty House, Roxbury, on the night of the fourth of July, 1780. He received the rudiments of his education at the same school of which his father had been both pupil and master; his first instructor being Abiel Heywood. In January, 1787, when he was six years of age, young Sumner was an eye-witness of the march of the troops commanded by Major Spooner from the Meeting-House Hill in Roxbury, to join the forces of General Benjamin Lincoln, who was ordered to crush the Shays Rebellion; and this circumstance may have inspired him with a taste for the military career in which he afterwards won such a good reputation.

In 1789 he was sent to live with his uncle, Charles Cushing, in Boston. While here he attended Master Lane's writing-school at the west end of Boston. On the twenty-fourth of October, 1789. President Washington visited Boston; and General Sumner, in his "Recollections" of that event, in describing the parade of the public school children on that occasion, says: "Master Lane's boys, about seventy in number, were placed in front of Mr. Jonathan Mason's hardware store, near the bend in Washington Street, then Cornhill, opposite Williams Court. I well remember the laugh which our salute created, when, as the General passed us, we rolled in our hands our quills with the longest feathers we could get. Mr. N. R. Sturgis, who was at school with me at that time, remembers this circumstance. From our position at the angle of the street, we had a fair view of the procession as it approached, and after it passed us." The General also describes the dignity with which Washington received the applause of the people. He "was in uniform; and as he rode, his head uncovered, he inclined his body, first on one side and then on the other, without distinctly bowing, but so as to observe the multitude in the streets, and the ladies in the windows and on the tops of the houses, who saluted him as he passed."

From Master Lane's school, the young student returned to the Roxbury Grammar-School, and continued there about four years, under the tuition of Masters William Emerson, Calvin Whiting, and John Pipon. During this period, he lived at the Auchmuty House. This fine old estate at the corner of Washington and Cliff streets was built about 1761 by the younger

Judge Robert Auchmuty, who lived there until the beginning of the Revolution in 1775. In 1779 it was confiscated as Tory property, and purchased by Governor Sumner, who occupied it until his death. "Here," writes Drake, in his History of Roxbury, "met the secret conclave of Crown officers who plotted the overthrow of colonial liberty. Here, Bernard, Hutchinson, Auchmuty, Hallowell, Hulton, Burch, and Paxton discussed the proposed alterations in the charter, and the bringing over of British soldiers to overawe the people." Mrs. Sumner continued to reside there until 1806, when she removed to Boston. Her son William entered Phillips Academy, Andover, in 1793, and remained there two years, under the instruction of Ebenezer Pemberton, Abiel Abbot, and Mark Newman. While at Andover he boarded at Dr. Pearson's, and Nehemiah Abbot's. Among his school-mates at the Academy were the Rev. Charles Lowell and the Rev. John Codman.

Being thus fitted for college, he entered Harvard University in 1795. The college rooms were at that time so full that for three years he lived at the house of Professor Wigglesworth. Washington Allston was at Harvard during this period; and General Sumner had in his possession a fine landscape executed by the future celebrated painter during Sumner's junior year, and having on the back the artist's name and date of painting, together with a caricature of President Joseph Willard, the painter's canvas being part of an old shirt. An English oration on "The Spirit of Innovation," delivered by Mr. Sumner at the first exhibition of his class in his senior year, is described as a creditable performance. He was graduated in July, 1799, but was prevented from taking part in the Commencement exercises by the death of his father, which occurred but a short time previously. He received the degree of Master of Arts in 1802.

He chose the law as his profession, studying in the office of the Hon. John Davis, then United States District Attorney. When Mr. Davis was appointed District Judge in 1801, Mr. Sumner continued in the lawyer's office relinquished by the Judge, which was in Scollay's Building, Court Street, Boston. In 1802 he was admitted to the Bar, and early in his career distinguished himself by his successful defence of John Whiting of Franklin, who was indicted for robbery. It was while he was a junior member of the Suffolk Bar that Mr. Sumner commenced a suit for the recovery of land on Beacon Hill, then in the possession of the Hancock family, but which was claimed by the Sumner family as one of the inheritors of Shute Shrimpton Yeamans, cousin of Governor Sumner's widow, and great-grandson of Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, a former owner of the estate. Finding, however, that he could not secure the co-operation of Mr. David S. Greenough, who was a cousin of his mother, and the principal inheritor, the suit was abandoned, and the right to claim was soon after lost under the new statute limiting writs of right to forty years. The care of his mother's property was assumed by Mr. Sumner soon after his father's death; and it was from this circumstance and his early visits there, that he derived his experience of the value of East Boston and its capacity for improvement, which led him to the project which in after years made his name so prominent as a benefactor to the city of Boston.

On the twenty-first of October, 1797, Mr. Sumner was a witness of the launching of the famous frigate Constitution, which, after two unsuccessful attempts, entered the element in which she was to gain immortal celebrity. The Constitution was launched at the shipyard of Edmund Hart at the north end of Boston, the ways of which soon after sunk, thereby demonstrating the unfitness of the place for a navy yard. The United States government, desiring to establish a yard near Boston, sent Mr. Humphreys, naval constructor at Philadelphia, to examine the locality. The two most available places viewed were Noddle's Island, afterwards called East Boston, and Charlestown. Through a mistaken idea as to its advantages, Mr. Humphreys decided in favor of the latter. Mr. Sumner immediately started for Washington, travelling all night from Philadelphia in a stage-coach for the purpose of reaching the capital in time to induce President John Adams to change the decision. He arrived a day too late, as the President had already resolved to adopt Mr. Humphreys's recommendation. Thus it is possible that the mere accident of a delay prevented one of the most prominent naval stations in the country from being located in East Boston instead of at Charlestown. The location was made in 1800, or previous to March, 1801, when Jefferson became President. And here it may be noted that a very interesting description of the city of Washington in its early days is given by Mr. Sumner in his History of East Boston.

In 1801 Mr. Sumner, not yet twenty-one years of age, and still bent upon the development of Noddle's Island, urged upon the projectors of the Boston and Salem Turnpike the expediency of laying out their route across the island, and connecting it with the city proper by a bridge; and the road committee thought so favorably of the plan that a survey of the route was made. But the administration of Mr. Jefferson, though at first opposed to the establishment of a navy, ultimately changed its policy, and in 1803 the navy yard at Charlestown was ordered to be continued. Mr. Sumner was again compelled to relinquish his efforts in behalf of Noddle's Island, and another enterprise was diverted from that island to Charlestown. It was then demonstrated that a bridge from Boston to Noddle's Island was impracticable so long as the navy yard remained at Charlestown.

In 1804 Mr. Sumner was retained by the Roxbury Canal Corporation to oppose the project of a bridge from South Street to South Boston. The Corporation succeeded in effecting a change in the location of the bridge, which was afterwards built from Dover Street to South Boston, extending from Front Street, afterwards Harrison Avenue, which was laid out by a company organized for that purpose. The young counsel for the Canal Company saw very clearly that the bridge project, if successful, would greatly increase the value of land at South Boston; but with a high sense of honor he declared that he "was not willing to enter into a project individually which he was employed to oppose professionally." Nevertheless it created in him an interest in land speculation; and he eventually became the owner of a portion of Paulus Hook, in New Jersey, opposite to the city of New York; and a shareholder in the Boston Mill Corporation for filling up the Mill-pond in Boston, for which he also acted as attorney, the Dorchester Mill Corporation, and the Lamb's Dam Farm Company for the extension of Suffolk Street, on Boston Neck. All these enterprises were for a long time pecuniarily unsuccessful, and the young lawyer realized but little profit from any of them.

In 1808 Mr. Sumner was elected a member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, from Suffolk County, and continued a member for eleven successive years. This period covered a very exciting epoch in the political history of the State, that of the War of 1812, and the fact of his continuous election for so long a period is evidence of the confidence of the people in his ability and integrity.

It was not, however, in a legal nor legislative capacity that the subject of this memoir was destined to win his highest laurels. In 1806 he was appointed by Governor Strong one of his aides-de-camp, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. This was the first appointment of the kind made since Governor Hancock's time, there having been previously no law authorizing such staff officers. After Governor Strong again came into office, Colonel Sumner received in 1813 the same appointment, and held it for a period of five years under Governors Strong and Brooks. During the War of 1812, Governor Strong's relations with the general government were somewhat strained. On the twenty-second of June, 1812, a requisition for troops was made by President Madison through General Dearborn, then commanding the eastern military department, upon the Massachusetts governor, which was renewed on the twenty-sixth of the same month, and again on the twenty-seventh of July by the Secretary of War. Governor Strong refused to comply with these requests, urging that, in his opinion, the necessity for war had not arisen, and that the declaration of war against Great Britain was unconstitutional. The Governor, however, was not wanting in his duty as the defender of that portion of the State which was most liable to invasion; and troops were ordered to march to Passamaquoddy in the District of Maine, "at the request of General Dearborn, and by order of the President," on the fifth of August. This, however, did not quite satisfy the national government as to Governor Strong's constitutional obligations to the nation, and most of the regular troops were withdrawn from all the forts on the Massachusetts seacoast, leaving them in a defenceless condition. An English fleet soon afterwards appeared off the northeast coast of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, and by its presence controlled the seaboard towns of that portion of the district. A board of commissioners for sea-coast defence was appointed by the Governor consisting of General David Cobb, Adjutant-General John Brooks, the Hon. Timothy Pickering, the Hon. Israel

Thorndike, the Hon. Thomas H. Perkins, with Major Joseph H. Pierce as Secretary. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Maine were much alarmed at the appearance of the English fleet; but the reports from the threatened district were so conflicting as to make it necessary that a special agent should be sent to the exposed territory to ascertain the true state of affairs, the needs of the people for protection, and to provide for their defence. For this purpose, Lieutenant-Colonel Sumner was appointed by the Governor, and also by the commissioners, on the tenth of September, 1814, as an executive agent with the powers of quartermaster-general and commissary-general, and with instructions to set out immediately for the scene of the threatened invasion; to provide every means practicable for the adequate defence thereof; to confer with the commanding officers of the militia, and such other officers as he might judge proper, on the subject of coast defence; to assist in the transportation of troops for the protection of any place in danger of invasion; and to report to the Governor or the commissioners all matters of importance in connection with his duties. The major-generals of the district were instructed to communicate to the executive agent the orders under which they then acted. The latter was authorized by the treasurer to borrow money on the credit of the State, and to draw upon the treasury if the former means proved insufficient; and all the duties of the commissioners of sea-coast defence so far as they related to the District of Maine were transferred to him.

Armed with these instructions, and charged with this delicate and somewhat complicated mission, Colonel Sumner set out early on the next morning in the discharge of his duties. At first he had been somewhat reluctant to accept the position, being, as he represented to Governor Strong, but a young staff-officer with but little military experience, and required to go alone into a district politically hostile to the State administration. But the Governor overruled his scruples. "When does your Excellency wish me to go?" was his final inquiry of the Governor. "By sunrise, if you can be ready so early," replied the Governor. "I hope your Excellency will give me time to get my horse shod." "Yes, I will; but you must tell the blacksmith not to take too much time in filing his hoofs!" and the colonel started as before mentioned. On arriving upon the field of his operations, he found the district in much confusion and alarm. Conflicts of authority between the militia and regular army officers; questions of precedence among the militia officers themselves; companies assembled without regimental organization, and without definite purpose; and difficulties in the way of furnishing supplies, — all rendered the situation very embarrassing. But Colonel Sumner was equal to the emergency. His duties required him to visit nearly every coast town from Portsmouth to the Kennebec River. By the time he had finished his labors, to use his own words, "troops were stationed where needed, jealousies avoided, supplies furnished, the credit of the State pledged, and the coast then threatened put into a state of practical defence." The limits of this memoir forbid an extended description of the measures taken by Colonel Sumner in accomplishing these results; but they may be found in more detail in his History of East Boston. It is sufficient to say that the conduct of the executive agent won the entire approbation of the Governor and the commissioners, three of whom, Adjutant-General Brooks, General Cobb and Colonel Pickering, survivors of the Revolutionary army, were men of great ability and experience.

Subsequently, in December, 1814, Colonel Sumner went to Maine a second time, under a commission from a new board of war, of which the Hon. Edward H. Robbins was president. He then paid from the State funds over two hundred thousand dollars to the troops mustered into the service, receiving the thanks of the president of the board for his efficient services. It was while he was engaged in his duties in Maine that he was proposed for nomination by the Federal caucus as Representative to Congress from the Suffolk District, and he was mentioned as a candidate by the papers at the time; but his name was soon afterwards withdrawn, and that of Artemas Ward, son of the Revolutionary General of the same name, was substituted. For forty years General Sumner never knew why his name was withdrawn. In September, 1854, he received a letter from his friend, Charles W. Greene, Esq., explaining that the withdrawal was due to the opposition of the young Federalists, who thought they were not sufficiently recognized by Major Russell, the leader of the party, and proceeded to nominate their own candidate. A split in the party being imminent, both names were withdrawn, and Mr. Ward was nominated and elected. Mr. Greene always regretted his agency in preventing the election of Colonel Sumner, after his acquaintance with the latter gentleman, and described it as an election which would have reflected honor upon the candidate and credit upon his constituents.

When it was proposed to send three commissioners from Massachusetts, one of whom should represent the District of Maine, to confer with the general government as to the future defence of the State, the members of the Legislature from Maine agreed upon Colonel Sumner as their representative commissioner. He was also employed as State agent, with the Hon. James Lloyd, in 1816, to present the claims of the State for reimbursement from the national government for services of troops under the Federal authority during the war then just closed. He was not successful in accomplishing this object. . . . .

On the fifth of June, 1817, Colonel Sumner was chosen one of a committee of thirteen citizens of Boston, who with the selectmen were to receive President Monroe on his visit to that city. The President arrived at Boston on the second of July, and the arrangements for his reception were carried out by the committee in the most satisfactory manner.

In 1818, the Colonel went to the island of Antigua, and there sold an estate inherited by several of his relatives for £16,000 sterling. The premium realized on the exchange of the bills, and the sale of the specie in New York, was more than sufficient to cover the entire expenses of the voyage and the sale.

On the resignation of Adjutant-General Ebenezer Mattoon, Colonel Sumner was appointed by Governor Brooks in June, 1818, adjutant-general of the State, with the rank of brigadier-general. This promotion was very probably due to the efficient services rendered by Colonel Sumner in the War of 1812. Governor Brooks, one of the best officers of the Revolution, had himself been adjutant-general during the late war, and none knew better than he the fitness of the new appointment. If any further proof were needed of the capacity of the new appointee for this somewhat arduous position, it may be found in the continuance of his service under opposite political administrations. General Sumner held the office for seventeen years under Governors Brooks, Eustis, Lincoln, and Davis, — a longer period than that of any other adjutant-general since the organization of the State government, before or since his time, with the single exception of General Donnison, who served twenty-four years, from 1789 to 1813. Each of the above-mentioned governors spoke in high praise of General Sumner's performance of his duties. Governor Eustis, the Democratic executive, was urged to remove the Adjutant-General on account of difference in politics. The Governor had been for several years secretary of war, and was somewhat familiar with the duties of the adjutant-general's department. He visited General Sumner's office frequently, and was not only highly satisfied with the General's conduct and methods, but, on reading the papers of the latter relating to certain charges preferred against two military officers of York County, Maine, and the Adjutant-General's action thereon, — which circumstance happened a few years previous to the election of Governor Eustis, — he exclaimed, "If this is the manner in which you do the business of this office, there are but few offices that I know of in the General Government whose duties are performed so well; and you fully justify the high character which my predecessor has given you." "After this," adds General Sumner, "the intercourse between Governor Eustis and myself was as friendly as it could have been had I been of the same party politics," — an illustration sixty years ago of the practical operation of the principles on which civil-service reform is based. In order to form a correct idea of the magnitude and arduous nature of the duties of the adjutant-general at this period, it will be necessary to remember that General Sumner assumed the office two years previous to the separation of the District of Maine from Massachusetts, and that his duties related to the troops from that district as well as those from the parent State. The organized militia of Massachusetts and Maine in 1818 consisted of no less than thirteen divisions, each division comprising as many as two, and the first and fifth, three brigades. These brigades consisted in the aggregate of one hundred and ten regiments and one battalion of infantry, seven regiments, fifteen battalions and six unattached companies of cavalry, and five regiments, twenty-one battalions, and three unattached companies of artillery. These organizations, together with the Divisionary Corps of Cadets, and the Sea Fencibles of Boston, made a force of not far from sixty thousand men to be accounted for at the adjutant-general's department. As the various organizations of this force were frequently changing, and as a few years after his appointment, in 1821, General Sumner was also called upon to assume the duties of quartermaster-general, the extent and multiplicity of his labors may well be imagined. After the separation of Maine, the militia force was reduced to seven divisions, and so remained through the General's term of office.

Upon his assumption of the office of adjutant-general, General Sumner found that the blank forms for returns, some of which had been in use since the Revolution, and which were in accordance with laws long before repealed, were so imperfect as to be unfit for use. The General had new forms prepared, — a work of much labor, but so completely done that the Adjutant-General's returns to the State and the nation, were considered the most systematic of those from any State. Another duty, not usually occurring in the ordinary labors of the department was his conducting a part of the correspondence with the Secretary of War in relation to the State claims before mentioned. The amount of correspondence of the department was greatly increased by the system originated by General Sumner of answering letters from any commissioned officer, instead of restricting replies to general officers only, as was formerly the custom. The General also introduced a rigid system of accountability among subordinates, and economy throughout the department. In his report for 1824, he estimates the value of military property under his charge as quartermaster-general, of which he was obliged to make annual returns, at two hundred thousand dollars, a responsibility which caused him much anxiety. It would be far beyond the required limits of this memoir to specify in detail the numerous duties of these important offices, which were carefully and conscientiously performed by this able officer, at a reduction of expenses to the State of several thousands of dollars, aside from the natural reduction consequent upon the separation of Maine. Sufficient has been shown, it is hoped, to enable the reader to form an idea of the magnitude and arduous character of the duties, and the manner in which they were discharged. These duties were not only performed at a less salary than had been paid in 1816 and previous years, but at a considerable personal expense to the Adjutant-General himself, in attending reviews by the Governor; which expense was not allowed by the State. General Sumner's reports for 1823 and 1833 contain many valuable suggestions for the improvement of the militia. The latter is accompanied by a general plan of reform. The total force of the organized militia of Massachusetts for 1833 is shown in the report for that year to have been forty-four thousand nine hundred and seventy-three men. The value of the militia as a defensive power, and as a school for military instruction, is ably pointed out in General Sumner's reports, by the testimony not only of himself, but of several eminent men in civil as well as military life, — among others, Presidents John Adams and Madison, Secretary Calhoun, Chancellor Kent, and Governors Brooks and Eustis. In view of these facts, is it then too much to claim for General Sumner the position of one of the best adjutant-generals Massachusetts has ever had; and to state that, with the exception of General Schouler, who held the office during the late Rebellion, no adjutant-general had more arduous labors to perform in this department than he?

In 1821 the General was chosen commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, having become a member of that venerable corps in 1819. On the second of July, 1821, he was selected as chief marshal of the cavalcade of citizens, at the celebration of the opening of the Mill-Dam, now Western Avenue, Boston. In an appropriate address on this occasion, he compared the work then finished with similar enterprises in the Old World; spoke of this as a voluntary contribution of the citizens, while those were often the result of the enforced labor not only of one, but of several nations, ordered by despotic governments. He described the Boston of thirty years previous as a closed hand which had since been opened, the various modes of access by bridges representing the fingers, while the Mill-Dam was the thumb.

On the occasion of the memorable visit of General Lafayette to this country, in 1824, General Sumner was away from the State, travelling in Vermont. Naturally thinking that the great French patriot would first proceed to the national capital after his arrival at New York, he took no pains at first to hurry his homeward journey. He was surprised, the next day, to learn by the papers that Lafayette first proposed to visit the Eastern States, and would shortly reach Boston. Knowing that he would be expected to make all the military arrangements for the reception of the French General, General Sumner hastened on; went four miles out of his way by mistaking the road; and reached Sudbury on the night of the twenty-third of August, only to find that Lafayette had already arrived at Roxbury. He reached his residence at Dorchester at seven o'clock the next morning; broke into his house, the servants having all quitted it to see the parade; dressed himself in his uniform; and reported to Governor Eustis at the latter's residence in Roxbury at eight o'clock. The Governor had already ordered out the troops, and expressed his regret to the Adjutant-General at his absence on so important an occasion. The latter explained that he supposed the government which had invited Lafayette would be the first to receive his visit, and so was in no haste to return. The explanation was satisfactory. Lafayette, escorted by the troops, proceeded to Boston, where he was more formally welcomed by the Governor at the Council chamber in the State House. Acting as commissary-general, General Sumner, at the request of his Excellency, provided a dinner in honor of Lafayette, and other distinguished guests, at the Governor's mansion, on the twenty-seventh of August. The particulars of this reception, together with other recollections of Governor Eustis, are given in more detail, and in a very pleasing manner, in General Sumner's Reminiscences of Lafayette, published in Volume XIII. of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register.

The corner-stone of the Bunker Hill monument was laid on the seventeenth of June, 1825, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, and the soldiers of the Revolution who were to participate in this ceremony were requested to assemble at the office of General Sumner, and give him satisfactory evidence of their presence at the engagement of half a century before. The Adjutant-General thus became possessed of a large amount of unpublished information relating to the Battle of Bunker Hill; and among other facts, of the last words of General Warren, which were given him by Amos Foster of Tewksbury, who was near the General when he fell, and heard them uttered. The words were: "I am a dead man; fight on, my brave fellows, for the salvation of your country." They were included by General Sumner in a toast at a public collation at the State House on the ensuing fourth of July, 1825. This occasioned some controversy as to their authenticity; the result of which was a communication published in the Boston Patriot by the General, which afterwards, in December, 1857, formed the basis of a paper read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and in which this matter, together with other very interesting information respecting General Warren, is more particularly mentioned. It may be found in Volume XII. of the Historical and Genealogical Register.

On the fourth of October, 1826, General Sumner was married at Bristol, Rhode Island, by Bishop Griswold, to Mrs. Mary Ann (DeWolf) Perry, daughter of the Hon. James DeWolf of Bristol, Rhode Island, and widow of Raymond H. J. Perry, brother of the first Commodore Perry. This lady died on the fourteenth of July, 1834; and the General chose for his second wife, Mrs. Maria Foster (Doane) Greenough, daughter of Elisha Doane, of Cohasset, and widow of Colonel David Stoddard Greenough, to whom he was married at Jamaica Plain, December 13, 1836, by the Rev. Dr. Gray. The second Mrs. Sumner died November 14, 1843. General Sumner was married again, on the eighteenth of April, 1848, to Miss Mary Dickinson Kemble, daughter of Robert Tuite Kemble, and granddaughter of Peter Kemble of Mount Kemble, New Jersey, President of the Council of that State, and of General John Cadwallader; and niece of General Thomas Gage, the last royal governor of Massachusetts. This lady survived him.

The high reputation acquired by General Sumner as adjutant-general was evidently the cause of his selection, in November, 1826, as a member of a board of officers representing the army and the militia, which was convened at Washington, by Secretary Barbour, for the important duties of reporting a general plan for the organization and instruction of the whole body of the militia of the country, and of preparing a system of tactics for the various arms of the military service. This board was composed of some of the best officers of the United States. It had for its president, Major-General Winfield Scott; and its members, besides General Sumner, were Major-General Thomas Cadwallader of Philadelphia, whom General Scott describes as "a very well-read soldier;" Adjutant-General Beverly Daniel of North Carolina; Lieutenant-Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards Major-General, and President of the United States; Lieutenant-Colonel, afterwards Brigadier-General Abraham Eustis of the Fourth Regiment of United States Artillery, a nephew of Governor Eustis; with Lieutenant-Colonel E. Cutler, and Major Charles Nourse, both of the regular army. The board was in session for several weeks; and after an earnest and protracted discussion, a report, which was approved by Congress, was adopted. General Scott, in his autobiography, alluding to this matter, speaks of General Sumner as "long the intelligent adjutant-general of Massachusetts." This praise from so critical a veteran as the hero of Lundy's Lane affords an additional confirmation of General Sumner's military ability.

About the year 1830, General Sumner became interested in a company having for its object the promotion of the settlement of the territory now known as the State of Texas. He was appointed one of the trustees of this organization, which was called the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. The territory over part of which the operations of this company extended had been for three centuries almost entirely neglected and left in its primitive condition by the Spanish viceroys of Mexico, under whose government it was. No foreigners were allowed, and few Mexicans cared, to settle upon its lands. Three towns only had been established during all that period. Previous to the purchase of Florida in 1819 by the United States, Texas had been considered by that government as a part of the Louisiana Territory, but, on the cession of Florida, the claim had been abandoned or had lain dormant. When Mexico became an independent nation, the policy of its government was changed, and liberal terms were offered for the encouragement of immigration, especially to Texas. The result was naturally a rapid increase in foreign colonization, principally from the United States, the first American colony under Stephen F. Austin settling in Texas in 1821, at the location named after their leader. Contractors known as Empresarios associated with themselves others from America and from Europe; immigration was solicited, and land companies were formed, among which was the one above described. General Sumner was the author of a pamphlet published at New York on the first of January, 1831, in which the purposes of the Texas Land Company, the inducements to immigrants and the advantages the country offered, were clearly set forth. Neither the date of the origin of this corporation nor its financial success has been ascertained; but it may be fairly believed that the impetus given to American immigration by its operations in lands adjacent to the United States exerted a material influence in shaping the future important events in Texas which led to the revolution and independence of that country, and its ultimate annexation to the United States.

In 1833 the great project of his life — that which had been the dream of his youth, and the hope of his manhood through many years of numerous disappointments, delays, changes of ownership, indifference of proprietors, hesitation, vacillation, and timidity of those more directly interested than himself — was accomplished. This was the formation of a company for the purchase and development of the resources by settlement of Noddle's Island as a part of the city of Boston. This island, probably so called from William Noddle, who was supposed to have been its first inhabitant, had hitherto been regarded as valuable only as pasturage or farming ground. It was granted by the General Court to Samuel Maverick on the first of April, 1633. Maverick had, in 1625, constructed a fort, and was living at Winnesimmet before the arrival of Governor Winthrop, in 1630. He held possession of Noddle's Island until 1650. It then passed into the hands of successive owners for short periods until, in 1670, it was purchased of Sir Thomas Temple by Colonel Samuel Shrimpton. The latter bequeathed it to his widow in 1697; who in turn left it to her granddaughter, Elizabeth Shrimpton, who became the wife of John Yeamans. From her it descended to her son, Shute Shrimpton Yeamans, who, dying childless in 1769, left it in equal parts to his three aunts, Mrs. Mary Chauncy, Mrs. Sarah Greenough, and Mrs. Mehetable Hyslop, daughters of Mrs. Elizabeth Stoddard, wife of David Stoddard, and formerly the wife of Samuel Shrimpton, Jr. Mrs. Greenough's third came to her two sons, David S. and William, one half to each. Mrs. Hyslop's third was left to her two surviving children, David and Elizabeth, the latter the wife of Governor Sumner; while Mrs. Chauncy, having no children, devised her portion to the above-named William Greenough, and Mrs. Elizabeth (Hyslop) Sumner, one half to each. Mr. David S. Greenough bought his brother William's share, and thus became possessed of one half of the island; Mrs. Sumner, by the addition of the portion which came to her from Mrs. Chauncy, came into possession of one third; and her brother, David Hyslop, held one sixth. Mr. Greenough left his portion to his son Colonel David, who died of apoplexy on the sixth of August, 1830; and his Noddle's Island property passed into the hands of his widow, Mrs. Maria F. Greenough, — who subsequently became the second wife of General Sumner, as before related, — and her children. Meanwhile Mrs. Sumner's portion, after her death, in 1810, went by lot to her daughter Eliza, afterwards the wife of James W. Gerard, of New York; and David Hyslop's share, one sixth of the island, at his death on the sixteenth of August, 1822, passed to his only surviving children, David and Jane, and after their early death to their mother, Mrs. Jane (Woodward) Hyslop, afterwards the wife of Mr. John Hayden. These persons, Mrs. Greenough and her children, Mrs. Gerard and Mrs. Hayden, were thus the owners of Noddle's Island at the time the company was formed for its improvement. It will be seen that until the formation of the company, never at any period was General Sumner the owner of any part of the island, either by inheritance or purchase. His exertions to increase the value of this property were for many years mainly in the interest of his relatives. No attempts had ever been made by the former proprietors to develop the resources of the island except by Mr. John Yeamans, who petitioned the town of Boston, in 1727, for leave to build a bridge to Chelsea from the island. The principal tenants on Noddle's Island during the last century, and the first part of the present, were Robert Temple, Henry Howell Williams and his son, Thomas Williams; the latter of whom left the island about two years after the formation of the company. These tenants merely improved it for farming purposes. In 1633 the area of the island was estimated at one thousand acres, which had been reduced by the action of the sea to six hundred and sixty-three acres towards the close of the last century. For six years previous to 1748, the annual rent was £100. In that year it was increased to £118, and in 1755, to £130, where it remained for several years. From 1791 to 1794, the rent had fallen to £110 per annum. From 1794 to 1800, it was £200 per annum; and from 1800 to 1811, it was one thousand dollars yearly.

Early in the present century, General Sumner made repeated efforts, some of which have been already described, to induce his sister, Mrs. Gerard, and his relatives, David S. Greenough and his son Colonel Greenough, to adopt some plan to increase the value of their island property; but either through indifference or fear they treated his suggestions with coldness or neglect. Even the tenants looked upon the General's plan as a visionary scheme; and Mr. Thomas Williams, the last tenant, when offered an acre lot to build on, after the company was started, refused with some contempt, and left the island. Years passed, and the General still clung to his cherished projects with an abiding faith in their ultimate realization. In the words of Dr. Quint, "He wished to build a city where he had found a pasture." At length, on the twelfth of January, 1832, he obtained from Mrs. Greenough an agreement to sell her half of Noddle's Island for the sum of thirty-two thousand five hundred dollars. He secured the co-operation of the Hon. Stephen White and Mr. Francis J. Oliver in this purchase, which was completed February 21, 1832, and confirmed by the General Court on the eighteenth of the following April. Mrs. Hayden sold her sixth part of the island to the same parties on the eighth of September, 1832, for fifteen thousand dollars. A company was now formed, called the East Boston Company, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1833, —just two centuries, lacking seven days, from the date of the first grant to Maverick. It consisted of forty stockholders representing five thousand two hundred and eighty shares, afterwards increased to twenty thousand shares. Mrs. Gerard disposed of her third part to the company for thirty-two thousand five hundred dollars, and took stock in payment of one half that amount on the second of May, 1833. The company thus became owners of the entire island, at a total cost of eighty thousand dollars. The General owned one quarter of the whole number of shares, and his sister one sixth. General Sumner was chosen president of the company, a position which he held for ten years. The benefits arising from the plans of the East Boston Company were soon apparent. Private lots were appraised, streets and squares laid out, public lands selected, schools and churches established, public buildings and wharves constructed, corporations organized, bridges built, and all the paraphernalia of a new city set in motion. The project suffered a temporary check by the financial troubles of 1837, but soon recovered its former vigor. The establishment of the Eastern Railroad terminus in 1836, the Boston Sugar Refinery in 1834, the ferry and the Maverick House in 1835, the Cunard Steamship wharves in 1840, and the Grand Junction Railroad in 1847, all contributed to give an increased prosperity to an enterprise which was destined to suffer no future reverse. On the twenty-seventh of May, 1835, upon the occasion of the joint celebration of the opening of the Maverick House, and the commencement of the ferry trips between East Boston and the city proper, General Sumner delivered an address, in which he gave a general history of the island, which was published in the Boston Courier, and Columbian Centinel. From this period the settlement of East Boston rapidly increased. Some idea of the progress made may be gained from the following statistics: In the early part of 1833 there were eight persons living on the island; in 1835 the population was 600; in February, 1843, 2,391; in 1860, 19,356; and in 1880, 29,926. About the year 1650 the valuation of the island was fixed by the General Court at seven hundred pounds, New England currency; in 1670 Colonel Shrimpton paid six thousand pounds for it; in 1713 it was valued at twelve thousand pounds; in 1815 it was appraised at twenty-five thousand dollars; in 1833 the valuation was sixty thousand dollars; in 1835 it had increased to eight hundred and six thousand dollars; in 1856 to eight million dollars; while the present taxable valuation is seventeen million eight hundred and eighty-five thousand nine hundred dollars. Thus by the persistent efforts of one man, a wilderness, over which the wild fowl flew unharmed, and whose primitive soil was yet unturned save by the plough of a single farmer, was converted into a thickly settled and wealthy section of the city of Boston. Surely General Sumner may fairly be termed the founder of East Boston, and, by his sagacity and foresight in so greatly increasing the value of its taxable property, a benefactor to the city at large.

In 1835 the General resigned his commission as adjutant-general in order to devote himself more thoroughly to the interests of the East Boston Company. His public career, military and civil included, had covered a period of more than a quarter of a century; with what success has already been stated. Henceforward his long and useful life presents but few prominent points for the biographer. Up to this period he had lived, after his mother's death, which occurred on the twenty-eighth of December, 1810, on Mount Vernon Street, then called Sumner Street, Boston; and upon the Morgan farm at Dorchester, which had been given to him by his dying father in 1799, and which was purchased by the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder in 1832, and greatly improved by him. The General secured a valuable estate at Jamaica Plain, overlooking portions of that section of Roxbury where, in 1845, he built a mansion-house in which he resided during the remainder of his life.

The East Boston Company, like all successful stock-organizations of its kind, was not exempt from the temptations of speculation. Some of its members manifested this desire as early as 1837. General Sumner was in favor of the old-fashioned and safer methods of increasing the value of the stock by purely legitimate means; and so was a strong opponent of the schemes of the speculators, and thereby incurred their hostility, which resulted in his being dropped from the board of directors, and in the choice of John Binney as president of the company, at the election held on the first of May, 1837. This movement soon created great surprise and opposition; and the speculators were made aware that the displacement of the originator of the enterprise, the one who, by his ability, prudence, and liberality, had reared and kept the credit of the company upon a solid foundation, was a serious blunder, and they hastened to repair it. Mr. Binney resigned his offices of president and director; and on the twenty-sixth of June, just fifty-seven days after his defeat, General Sumner was unanimously replaced on the board of directors, even his recent opponents voting for him, and Samuel S. Lewis was made president. In 1839 the General was compelled to relinquish his position on the board, owing to financial embarrassments arising from the monetary panic of 1837. His whole stock became involved in the pecuniary troubles of the company, and for a short time he ceased to be a stockholder. He succeeded in honorably freeing himself from all liabilities in 1845, and in that year was again chosen a director and president of the company, which offices he held until his final resignation in 1850, on account of ill health. He left the company in a prosperous condition, substantially free from debt, and with bright prospects for the future, which have since been realized by the growth of East Boston as a commercial and manufacturing section. He had the proud consciousness of knowing that this great achievement was mainly his work, after struggles against obstacles that would have conquered the patience and blasted the hopes of many other prominent business men.

General Sumner was elected a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, May 5, 1845. He was one of the original members of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society at the foundation of that institution in 1829; and on the tenth of December, 1857, was chosen a resident member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was also a corresponding member of the New York and Wisconsin Historical Societies.

The General visited the Southern States in 1848; and it was at New Orleans in April of the same year that he was married to his third wife, Miss Kemble, by the Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks, as before mentioned. It is a curious fact that, like Prescott the historian, this lady was related to two officers of the highest rank, who were opposed to each other in the American Revolution.

At the age of seventy-two, General Sumner, accompanied by his wife, made a tour of Europe. He sailed from New York on the twenty-third of October, 1852, for the French port of Havre. Owing to an accident to the steamer, he was seventeen days on the passage, reaching Southampton on the ninth of November, and the next day was in Paris. His letters of introduction from the Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State (who died the day after the General left New York), to the diplomatic representatives of the United States in Europe, and from Adjutant-General Devereux, and other prominent persons, enabled him to make the acquaintance of many distinguished European people; among others, the exiled King Louis of Bavaria, Pope Pius IX., Prince Jerome Bonaparte, the Duchess de Berri, the Princess Borghese, Lord and Lady Holland, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Lord Gage, and Mr. Erskine of the British legation at Turin, the last two being relatives of Mrs. Sumner. Many of the principal cities of Italy, France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, and England were visited, and much attention and hospitality were shown to the General and Mrs. Sumner. The former astonished the King of Bavaria by stating that he had seen George Washington, a circumstance which General Sumner frequently dwelt upon with some pride. The King was much interested in American affairs, especially those relating to the welfare of German emigrants. He had several interviews with the General at Naples, treating him with much cordiality. At Rome, the General became acquainted with a promising young sculptor, who produced a fine bust of the former. The handsome monument adorning General Sumner's lot at Forest Hills Cemetery is also his work. Another pleasant experience at Rome was the meeting with a little colony of American ladies, then residing there together, — Miss Charlotte Cushman, the eminent actress, Miss Harriet Hosmer, and Miss Sarah J. Clark (Grace Greenwood), among the number. At Paris he witnessed the entry of the Emperor Napoleon III. into the city. In London, which he visited twice, he was kindly entertained by Lord Gage, whose uncle, Admiral Gage, subsequently, in 1857, presented him with an excellent portrait of his father, General Thomas Gage. General Sumner was also a welcome guest at the celebrated Holland House, memorable for its gatherings of the highest literary and artistic culture of England, a third of a century ago. After an agreeable tour of nearly a year, he embarked at Liverpool for New York, arriving at the latter city on the seventeenth of October, 1853. The compiler of this memoir is indebted to Mr. James O'Brien, a florist of Jamaica Plain, who attended the General on the journey, for the account of this trip, and only regrets that the limits to which he is assigned prevent the publication in full of his interesting description.

In March, 1852, an organization called the East Boston Tree Association was formed for the purpose of ornamenting the graded streets of the island with shade trees. General Sumner, who had previously interested himself in this matter, heard of this society while in Paris in December, 1852, and immediately gave two valuable lots in East Boston to the association to aid them in carrying out their project. These lots realized the sum of four thousand and ninety dollars and thirty-three cents. This munificent gift to the society was most gratefully appreciated, as the following extract from a letter from Captain William C. Barstow, President and Superintendent of the East Boston Company in 1857, among others which the General received, will show: —

> It must be gratifying to you, my dear sir, to know, that, among the many good acts of your life, this donation is one that will call down the blessings of the present and future generations on your head. I will therefore close, after expressing what I believe to be the sincere wish of every man, woman, and child on the Island, that your shadow, and that of the trees you have given us, may never grow less.

The President and Secretary of the Tree Association conclude their letter to him dated February 14, 1853, as follows: —

> Whatever may have been your hopes, we believe the sequel has fully realized your most sanguine expectations; and now, when an effort is made to embellish the Island by planting trees, it is truly gratifying to learn that the effort is duly appreciated; and that, though you are in a foreign land, yet your regards for East Boston are not abated. That you may receive all the benefits which can be expected from your foreign tour, and that, with the blessing of Providence, you will return to your native country invigorated, and in the full enjoyment of health, are the sincere wishes of
>
> Your obedient servants,
> EBENEZER ATKINS, *President.*
> D. H. BLANEY, *Secretary.*

On his return from Europe, General Sumner devoted much of his time to literary pursuits. His contributions to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register were quite numerous, comprising a Memoir of Governor Increase Sumner; Reminiscences of Governors Hancock, Brooks, and Eustis; the visits to Boston of President Washington, in 1789, and General Lafayette, in 1824; letters relating to the Sumner Family, Benedict Arnold, Grenville Temple, etc., and papers on the Eliot Bureau, General William Hull, and General Warren at Bunker Hill; the last of which was read by Mr. Burnham at a meeting of the New England Historic Genealogical Society on the second of December, 1857. These articles were all published from April, 1854, to April, 1860, inclusive. The papers on the Eliot Bureau relate to an article of furniture purchased by the General in 1845, who gives strong presumptive evidence of its having formerly been owned by the Rev. John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians. The titles of the others sufficiently indicate their character. To the antiquary they furnish valuable material, while to the general historical reader they are unsurpassed in the pen pictures they present of the character, habits, and various minor incidents in the lives of the personages delineated. We seem to get nearer to them, and to the more readily imagine their daily lives by the aid of these very interesting sketches.

Nor ought the General's military writings prepared earlier in life to remain unnoticed in describing his literary labors. Besides his reports as adjutant-general, these consist of An Inquiry into the Importance of the Militia, published at Boston in 1823; Observations on National Defence, Boston, 1824; Compilation of the Militia Laws of the United States and Massachusetts, Boston, 1824; Address to the Charlestown Artillery, Charlestown, 1832; and a paper on the Militia, presented to the Hon. James Barbour, Secretary of War, in November, 1826, Washington, 1833. General Sumner's letter to the Committee on the Dorchester Celebration in 1855, published in the official account of the event, gives some important information relative to the history of that town.

His principal literary achievement, however, the crowning event of his long, useful, and honorable life, was his History of East Boston. This is an octavo of eight hundred pages, finely printed, copiously indexed, and embellished with maps and rare portraits of prominent persons, most of whom were connected with the history of the island. It is one of the most carefully written and one of the most valuable of our local histories, and will always have a prominent place in the historical literature of Boston. It is largely, but necessarily, a narrative of personal experience; yet the author does not obtrude himself unpleasantly. An important feature of the work is the series of biographical sketches of some of the earlier owners of the island, Maverick, Shrimpton, and Yeamans. There are many digressions from the main subject, and some repetitions; but the digressions are always interesting, and the repetitions serve to fix the more notable facts more prominently in the mind of the reader. The course of Governor Strong in the War of 1812 is well described, and from his intimate relations with the Governor, few men were better qualified to present with accuracy the facts on this subject than General Sumner. The work was published by J. E. Tilton & Co., Boston, in 1858. The author devoted much time and labor in preparing and in revising it, so anxious was he that it should be accurate. He had the assistance of numerous family papers, and the valuable aid of Mr. William B. Trask, Mr. Samuel Burnham, and the Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D.D., together with the help of several other gentlemen on special topics connected with the history. Before the work was committed to the press, the author, who had been long in failing health, was stricken with paralysis, which deprived him even of the power of speech. The superintendence of the printing, and the final editorial supervision, were therefore reluctantly but unconditionally committed to another hand. For this labor he selected the Rev. Dr. Quint, who performed his duties to the satisfaction of the author.

Some time ago a claim was made by the friends of Mr. Samuel Burnham, a young man of considerable literary ability, who had materially aided General Sumner in the preparation of the history, that he should be regarded as the author of the work, and that the General's name was unjustly placed upon the titlepage. Mr. John Ward Dean, in an article in the Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1884, gives satisfactory evidence that this claim was not warranted by the facts; that much of the material was in the General's own possession, and arranged by his direction; that the new matter furnished was subjected to his constant and careful supervision; and that Mr. Burnham's labors, important as they were, were probably no more so than those of Mr. Trask or Dr. Quint, neither of which gentlemen asserts any claim to the authorship.

General Sumner rallied partially from his first paralytic attack, recovering in some degree his speech; but the disease had too firm a grasp to be thrown off by a man of his years. He lingered about four years from the period of the first shock, his death occurring on the twenty-fourth day of October, 1861, at the age of eighty-one years, three months and twenty days. He died as the flames of civil war were spreading over his country, the result of which was not to be known for four years to come. He was buried from St. John's Church, Jamaica Plain, of which he had been an earnest supporter. He had no children.

It may perhaps be a matter worthy of mention that General Sumner and the Hon. Richard Sullivan, both members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, whose deaths occurred within a few days of each other, and whose memoirs appear in this volume, were both sons of Governors of Massachusetts, who died in office, — Governor Sumner, in 1799, and Governor Sullivan, in 1808.

Besides his valuable family papers, the General was the possessor of some rare historical documents, among which were the commissions of Samuel Shute as Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire from George I., in 1716, which he describes as "most elegantly and elaborately engraved and written on parchment of mammoth size. Attached to each commission is an impression in wax, six inches in diameter, of the great seal of the Kingdom." His portraits of the two Governors, Gage and Sumner, were presented to the State of Massachusetts. His library was bequeathed to the Sumner Library Association of East Boston, of which he had previously been a benefactor, and which published the following resolutions of respect to his memory: —

Resolved, That in the death of General William H. Sumner, our association has lost a most useful and worthy member, for he was a gentleman endowed by nature with rare qualities, — an accomplished scholar, a great lover of literature, a constant and true friend of learning and science, and a liberal patron of our library.

Resolved, That to him our association is most deeply indebted for his unbounded liberality in the bestowment of material aid to re-establish it, and to advance its interests and prosperity.

Resolved, That we most sincerely deplore his loss to our association, which he loved so ardently; to East Boston, whose best interests he ever guarded with the profoundest solicitude; and especially to his bereaved companion, a lady so eminently worthy to participate in all the honors he so richly merited.

Resolved, That it shall be our highest ambition to imitate the exemplary, honorable, benevolent, and praiseworthy life of our beloved friend and noble patron, and that, though departed, we will ever cherish his memory most dearly, and with gratitude most profound.

In summing up the character of General Sumner some estimate should be made not only of the career he actually achieved, but of what he probably would have achieved had he been called to higher places; for that he did not fill more distinguished public positions was due more to accident than to lack of ability, as has already been seen in this memoir. He was

> "Not without ambition, but without
> The illness should attend it."

It is therefore not improbable that he would have won higher fame in higher offices. Yet his ambition neither hurried him to selfish attempts nor prompted him to unworthy ends to gain them; and he preferred that office should seek him than that he should seek office. He was a man of much energy and persistency; not without vanity, yet without ostentation; desirous of wealth, yet using the most honorable means to obtain it; of the most scrupulous honor, integrity, and fidelity to the trusts confided to him; somewhat passionate in disposition, but brief in anger, and quickly recognizing his weakness in this respect; somewhat formal in manner, and particular on points of etiquette; liberal, generous, and hospitable. He possessed great mental vigor, which he retained to the last, and intellectual qualities of a high order. He was, "take him for all in all," a man to be loved, and a citizen to be respected. Addison says,

> "'T is not in mortals to command success."

General Sumner did more. He deserved it.

The author of this memoir is under obligations to Mr. Trask and Mr. Dean for much assistance rendered him in its preparation. General Sumner's History of East Boston, and other sketches, furnished him with much requisite material, which is here freely acknowledged.

JOHN HUBBARD WILKINS

JOHN HUBBARD WILKINS was born in Amherst, County of Hillsborough, New Hampshire, on the tenth of December, 1794, and consequently lacked five days of being sixty-seven years old at the time of his death, which occurred on the fifth of December, 1861. He was the youngest son of Deacon Samuel Wilkins, and the grandson of the Rev. Daniel Wilkins, the first settled minister of Amherst. His mother was Dorcas, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Boutwell) Towne.

It seems to have been the intention of Deacon Wilkins that his son John should become a merchant. Accordingly the lad left home quite early in life, and was employed in the store of Mr. Randall, in the neighboring town of Mount Vernon. After remaining there about a year, he went to Boston and entered the store of Mr. David S. Eaton, on Long Wharf, where he continued till the war commenced with England in 1812. He then conceived the idea of obtaining a more thorough education, and having purchased some books returned to his native town with the view of preparing for college. His father told him that a college education would be very expensive; that he was unable to assist him; and that he was apprehensive he would not succeed in going through the college course. The son replied that he thought he would try. Having been fitted for college under the care of the Rev. Humphrey Moore of Milford, he entered Harvard College in 1814, and was graduated in due course four years later. Being a beneficiary student, he was under the necessity of using the utmost economy, and spending the winter months of each year of his course in teaching school in the country. While in college he excelled as a writer; having obtained several times the Boylston prize given for the best dissertation on some subject assigned by the faculty. One of the subjects was Shakespeare. Among other things, he said that "Shakespeare, like Homer, sometimes sleeps. But to this we will not object if he will tell us his dreams." He ranked with the best scholars in his class.

While teaching a school in Hollis, New Hampshire, in his senior year, he found himself in the midst of a religious revival. He returned to Cambridge quite changed in his appearance and manners, with his feelings much softened and his religious sentiments awakened, but without having definitely accepted any doctrinal tenets. Finding the Unitarian views which prevailed at college insufficient for his wants, he seemed verging towards Calvinism; but having his attention called to the works of Swedenborg by his classmate, Mr. Thomas Worcester, he read them carefully, and gradually became fully convinced of the truth of the doctrines they contained.

After his graduation he spent a year as preceptor of the Bristol Academy in Taunton, Massachusetts. A vote of thanks found among his papers, signed by the late Judge John M. Williams, as secretary of the trustees, shows the high appreciation in which his services were regarded by that board. He then entered the Theological School at Cambridge, where he remained two years pursuing the course of study prescribed, devoting his attention mainly, however, to the works of Swedenborg.

In April, 1821, Mr. Worcester, having been invited to become the pastor of the Society of the New Church (commonly called Swedenborgian), in Boston, left the

Theological School, and removed to that city. Mr. Wilkins had become a member of the Society in August, 1820, and was one of the number, then small, who gave the invitation. Seeing no prospect of his own services being wanted as a minister in the Church of his choice, and having no disposition to preach under the auspices of those with whose doctrines he could not sympathize, he severed his connection with the Theological School, and removed to Boston at the same time. His object was to be with the incipient Society, and to aid according to his ability as a layman in building it up; and he had faith to believe that the Divine Providence would open a way in which this end could be accomplished. He had sustained himself at Cambridge, in a measure, by taking private pupils; but his means were now exhausted, and he had no definite plans for the future. About this time he prepared and published an elementary treatise on astronomy, which was well received, and proved the source of considerable profit for a number of years. In the year 1822, through the influence of Mr. T. H. Carter, who had been from a boy connected with the establishment, and was now one of the firm, and its principal manager, Mr. Wilkins entered the well-known book-store of Cummings, Hilliard & Co.; and in 1826 was admitted a partner in this long-established publishing-house.

Having done a very successful business, in 1832 he withdrew from the firm of which he had been an active member, and spent about six months travelling in Europe. On his return from Europe he formed a partnership the following year with the late Mr. Charles Bolles, under the style of John H. Wilkins & Co., as paper-dealers in Water Street. In 1835 Mr. Bolles withdrew, and Mr. Wilkins formed a partnership with the late Mr. Richard B. Carter, under the firm of J. H. Wilkins & R. B. Carter. The business was continued under this style till the year 1844, when Mr. Alexander H. Rice, who had been an assistant in the store for some years, commencing in his minority, was admitted as a partner, under the style of Wilkins, Carter & Co.; and in 1850 Mr. Charles S. Kendall was also admitted a partner. In the year 1852 Mr. Carter deceased; and in the same year Mr. Wilkins withdrew from the active business of the concern, retaining, however, for a limited time, an interest as a special partner. In his business Mr. Wilkins displayed much talent and industry, and stern integrity. He was successful, and acquired a competent estate.

In 1853 the National Bank of Boston, now the Boston National Bank, was chartered, and Mr. Wilkins was with great unanimity elected its president. This office he held till the annual meeting of the stockholders for the choice of directors in November, 1861, when, on account of his failing health, he declined being a candidate for re-election.

Mr. Wilkins was much in public life, having been repeatedly elected to the House of Representatives and to the Senate of Massachusetts, where he was always an active and influential member. In the year 1853, when a convention was called to revise the Constitution of the State, Mr. Wilkins was chosen a delegate from Boston. But his public services were still more devoted to the municipal affairs of the city. He was elected to the common council in 1840, 1841, 1842, and 1843, and was an alderman in 1847, 1848, and 1849. In the year 1852 he was the Whig candidate for mayor, and lacked only a few votes of being chosen. At that time a majority of all the votes was required for an election, and there was no choice. He was earnestly solicited to be a candidate on a second trial, when in all probability he would have been elected, but could not be prevailed upon to accept a renomination.

When the introduction of pure water into the city of Boston began to be agitated, Mr. Wilkins took a lively interest in the subject, and wrote able pamphlets on the best way of accomplishing the object. After the introduction of water from Lake Cochituate, and the establishment of the Water Board, he served for ten years as a member of that body; for the last five years, as its president. His services in this capacity, which were rendered gratuitously, were quite arduous, and very valuable to the city; particularly during the latter part of the time, when he superintended the laying of a new main from Brookline to Boston.

He was admitted to the New England Historic Genealogical Society as a resident member, May, 21, 1860.

In all his public functions Mr. Wilkins maintained his integrity and an honesty of purpose unsullied by the slightest taint or suspicion. His character inspired the public confidence to a remarkable degree. The most affectionate inquiries after his health were constantly made by citizens of Boston during his long illness, and frequently from unexpected quarters; and after his death the remark was often made that a good man had gone from among us.

But although Mr. Wilkins was much in public life, the interests and uses of the Church always commanded the first and highest place in his affections and regard. As was said, he became a member of the Boston Society of the New Church in 1820. From that time he was intimately connected with the history of this society, and it would be difficult to name any important act, work, or use in which it has been engaged, in which he was not an active participator. When the first church committee was appointed in 1832, he was chosen a member, and was annually re-elected to that office; and after the death of the late Mr. Caleb Reed, he was its chairman. When the present house of worship was erected in Bowdoin

Street he was a member of the building committee, and was one of the largest contributors to the object. He was equally active in the larger organizations of the Church, including the Massachusetts Association and the General Convention, having been a member of the most important committees and always rendering wise and efficient aid.

From the commencement of the New Jerusalem Magazine, Mr. Wilkins took a most lively interest in its success, and was a welcome contributor to its pages. The last communication which he furnished was an obituary notice of the late Henry G. Foster, which appeared in the number for April, 1861. The thirtieth volume contains two able and extended articles from his pen: the first a lecture delivered before the Massachusetts Association of the New Church, On the History of, and Observations on, English Translations of the Bible; and the second, a lecture delivered before the Boston Society, On Spiritism. He was also a frequent and always an acceptable contributor to the daily papers of the city on matters pertaining to the public good.

He was early imbued with the feeling that his property was given him as a sacred trust, and with a deep sense of religious duty to use it rightly in the service of others. These feelings and principles were impressed on his mind while he was yet poor, and all his worldly means were acquired under their influence. We might expect that property thus obtained would be wisely and judiciously expended. He was frugal as regarded his own personal expenses; but his heart and hand were ever open with proper discrimination to public and private charities, and above all to the uses of the Church. When the State Reform School for Girls was proposed to be established, he was among the largest contributors to the object; and was appointed by the Governor and Council one of the three trustees, under whose auspices a site was selected in Lancaster, the buildings were prepared, and the institution was put in successful operation.

But he always regarded the Church as having the first claim on his means, as it had on his affections. He contributed regularly and largely towards the expenses of public worship; and only a short time before his decease he gave to the Boston Society of the New Jerusalem a parsonage-house valued at ten thousand dollars. His last will and testament bears evidence of the same discriminating charity. Having provided for his family, and for those who otherwise had claims upon him, sixteen charitable societies of the city were carefully enumerated and kindly remembered in sums of five hundred or one thousand dollars each, — twelve thousand dollars in all. But the Church came in for the largest share of his property.

Mr. Wilkins was married, November 17, 1826, to Mrs. Thomazine E. Minot, sister of the late Professor William Cranch Bond, of the Cambridge Observatory.

In the preparation of the foregoing memoir, the writer has made free use of the biographical sketch published in the New Jerusalem Magazine for January, 1862, of which his father, the late Mr. Sampson Reed of Boston, a college classmate and life-long friend of Mr. Wilkins, was the author.

JONATHAN MARSH

Jonathan Marsh, who was born in that part of Braintree, Massachusetts, which in 1792 was incorporated as the town of Quincy, was a descendant in the fifth generation from Alexander Marsh, who settled in that town about 1654; he having been made a freeman on the third of May of that year.

Alexander Marsh was married, December 19, 1655, by Major Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester, to Mary, daughter of Gregory Belcher. Mr. Belcher was one of six persons who, on the seventeenth of September, 1639, signed the covenant for a church at Mount Wollaston. Mr. Marsh with Mr. Belcher, in 1671, bought a considerable tract of land in the westerly part of the town; to which was added a larger tract in 1676. There he made his residence, and there he died March 7, 1697–98, aged about seventy years. He was an extensive farmer, and possessed at the time of his death nearly six hundred acres of land, a considerable portion of which had been under cultivation.

John, the sixth child and only son of Alexander Marsh, married Sarah, daughter of Dr. John Wilson of Braintree, and great-granddaughter of the Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston; and by her he had eleven children. The sixth child, Wilson, born August 10, 1710 o. s., married in 1748 Abigail Allen, widow of Jonathan Allen and daughter of the Rev. Experience Mayhew, of Chilmark, Martha's Vineyard. They had five children. The third child, Wilson, born August 10, 1750, o. s., married July 4, 1781, Susanna, daughter of Dr. Elisha and Mrs. Ann (Adams) Savil, who was born in Braintree, May 12, 1756. They had eight children, of whom four sons and three daughters reached maturity. Their second son and third child, Jonathan, is the subject of this sketch.

Jonathan Marsh was born April 4, 1787, on the place which had been owned and occupied by his maternal ancestors for several generations, and probably from the early settlement of the town. On a part of this estate, within a few rods of the house where he was born, he passed the greater part of his life, and there he died.

When he was seven years of age his father removed with his family to a farm in the westerly part of the town, and there Jonathan began what proved to be the work of his life. His father, in connection with farming, had commenced the manufacture of coach-lace and trimmings; and his son, in his early boyhood, began work at a calling which through all of his active life demanded his constant care and attention. The business was new and untried. At first, the wool taken from the sheep kept upon the farm, after being washed and combed, was taken by the women of the neighborhood to their homes to be spun and returned as yarn. This, after being dyed in such colors as were required, was used with linen thread for the warp, which with cotton thread for the woof, by means of the hand-looms was woven into lace of any pattern desired. This work of spinning, with additional work furnished at the factory, was a considerable source of income for the women and girls of the vicinity; and as, at that time, profitable employment for women was not abundant, it was eagerly sought for and highly prized.

After a few years at the farm, a house was commenced on a portion of the maternal homestead; and here, when a part was finished, looms were set up and the weaving was continued. The farm was soon after given up, and the lace business proving profitable, a factory for its accommodation was built on land adjoining the house. In this building, to which additions were made from time to time, Mr. Marsh commenced business, June 18, 1812, as partner with his father and elder brother, Elisha, under the firm-name of Wilson Marsh & Sons. During the war of 1812, a profitable addition to their business was the dyeing of fabrics for the people of Quincy and the neighboring towns. Though the materials used in coloring were scarce and dear, yet the cost of all kinds of imported goods was so great that their neighbors found it economical to pay remunerative prices for the renovation of their old garments.

The father, Mr. Wilson Marsh, died July 7, 1828, aged seventy-eight. He was born, as were his father and grandfather, in the house built by his great-grandfather, Alexander Marsh, on his estate in the westerly part of the town. They all spent their lives and died within a short distance of their birthplace; and of this branch of the family, for five generations, not one of the male line has strayed from the town of his nativity.

After the death of the father, the lace business was successfully continued for a few years by the brothers, under the style of E. & J. Marsh; and later, when George, the eldest son of the junior partner, was admitted, the firm was known as E. & J. Marsh & Co.

Up to this time it had been thought that the operations required for the manufacture of coach-lace were so intricate that it would be impossible to construct a power-loom by which the work could be properly done. But in 1837 Erastus B. Bigelow, then but twenty-three years of age, having accidentally seen a hand-loom in operation, thought that machinery might be easily constructed by which the lace could be woven by power. While visiting Fairbanks, Loring, & Co., of Boston, who were selling agents for the Quincy factory, he learned that the demand for the goods was sufficient to justify an attempt to lessen the cost of production. Taking away with him a sample of the article to be produced, as his only guide, in six weeks he constructed a machine which he claimed would produce, at a cost for labor of but three cents a yard, as good lace as could be woven by hand at a cost of from twenty to twenty-five cents.

A factory having been established in which the power-looms were put in operation, the Messrs. Marsh found their business no longer profitable. Elisha retired from the firm in January, 1838, and George in October, 1840. Jonathan, now left alone, made an effort to save something of the business; but soon finding that he could not furnish employment to others without loss to himself, he reluctantly closed the factory and sacrificed the machinery. Thus, by the inventive genius of Mr. Bigelow, an industry was blotted out which for half a century had furnished remunerative business for a family, and profitable employment for the women and girls of the neighborhood, some of whom had been associated with the business for more than the length of an average life.

When about thirty-six years of age, Mr. Marsh had a violent attack of rheumatic fever. This left him with a severe bronchial affection, which was a source of great trouble and annoyance to him during the remainder of his life. A very robust constitution, strengthened by temperate habits, enabled him, however, for twenty years to successfully combat disease, and continue his active life. Soon after the close of his factory business, another severe attack deprived him of the use of his limbs, and for another twenty years he was confined to his home, a confirmed and suffering invalid. On the tenth of December, 1861, after having been confined to his bed for nearly a year, a great though patient sufferer, he quietly passed away, a few months before completing his seventy-fifth year.

Jonathan Marsh married, June 13, 1811, his cousin Sophia, daughter of Seth and Abigail (Marsh) Spear, who was born December 1, 1790, in that part of Quincy known as Hough's Neck. Their children were, George, born July 4, 1812; Ambrose, born November 4, 1814; Abigail Spear, Susanna Savil, and Sophia Arnold, all born October 20, 1815; Charles, born April 11, 1818; Edwin Wilson, born October 21, 1821; and Jonathan Mayhew, born August 21, 1827.

Mrs. Sophia Marsh died August 29, 1827; and Mr. Marsh was married, August 14, 1831, to Patience Vose Bailey, widow of Whitman Bailey, and daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Thompson) Crane. She was born in Milton, March 30, 1790, and died in Quincy, August 13, 1841.

Of the children of Jonathan and Sophia Marsh, Ambrose died while an infant; Jonathan Mayhew died in Quincy, January 21, 1876; and George, in the same town, January 15, 1877. The three daughters, triplets, are still living, two of them unmarried, on the old family homestead, while the two surviving sons are settled with their families not far from their ancestral home.

Mr. Marsh was an active member of the Unitarian Society in his native town, that society which his ancestor, Gregory Belcher, helped to organize in 1639. This church, with the West Church of Boston, of which his great-uncle and namesake, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, was pastor from 1747 to 1766, was among the first in New England to reject the theological doctrine then distinctly known as Calvinism. President John Adams wrote from Quincy in 1815, "Sixty-five years ago my own minister, the Rev. Lemuel Briant; Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church in Boston; the Rev. Mr. Shute, of Hingham; the Rev. John Brown, of Cohasset; and perhaps equal to all, if not above all, the Rev. Mr. Gay, of Hingham, were Unitarians." So long as his health would permit, Mr. Marsh was a constant attendant at church, and so reluctant was he to give up his usual habit that after he became infirm he walked upon crutches from his house to the church, a distance of more than half a mile.

Early in life he was connected with the Masonic order, having been initiated a member of Rural Lodge of Quincy in 1809. Of this lodge for twenty-five years he was an active and influential member, having been its master in 1824, in 1825, and again in 1830. To all his Masonic duties he was constant and faithful, and his house was always open to any brother from abroad who chose to accept his hospitality. In 1834 he sorrowfully assisted in the distribution of the effects of his lodge, preparatory to its dissolution in deference to an excited public sentiment; but in 1853 he had the gratification of knowing that it had resumed its functions; and though prevented by his infirmities from taking any active part in its labors, he retained through life an earnest interest in its welfare.

Mr. Marsh's early education was simply such as could be acquired in the village school of the period; yet through all his active life he was an ardent learner, and during his twenty years of confinement a constant reader, noting down from time to time for future reference such facts as he thought of value. He was particularly interested in historical and genealogical subjects; and having had through life a taste for the conversation of elderly people, he was well informed in regard to many events that occurred before his time. He left, among other writings, as memorials of his industry in his later years, a manuscript book of two hundred and forty-one pages, in which he had transcribed the old records of his church, and another of two hundred and seventeen pages, in which is compiled the genealogy of his own family and its collateral branches.

He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 11, 1847, and became much interested in its objects and welfare, contributing from time to time to its collection such books and manuscripts as he thought of value. He was a subscriber to the Historical and Genealogical Register from the beginning; and that he read it carefully is shown by copious extracts from its pages found among his papers. He had the numbers bound at the close of each year, the fifteenth volume being in the hands of the binder at the time of his death.

From an obituary notice prepared and published directly after the death of Mr. Marsh, by Mr. Caleb Gill, his friend and neighbor, we make a few extracts, substantially in the language of the writer thereof. They show the high estimation placed upon the character of Mr. Marsh by one who knew him intimately.

We remember Mr. Marsh as he was when engaged in the active business of life, pursuing his calling with industry, integrity, and indomitable energy; and likewise the strong interest which he felt for everything which related to the welfare of this, his native town. He was not a person to leave public matters to take care of themselves, or to trust that others would care for what it was equally his duty to see was well done. Hence he was a constant attendant at all meetings held for the transaction of municipal business; ever ready to lend his voice and cast his vote for or against all measures as they commended themselves to his approval or disapproval. It mattered not to him by whom a measure was proposed or opposed; he must be guided by his own convictions of what was for or against the best interests of the town.

We recall him as the constant attendant upon our Lyceum meetings, listening with earnest attention, that he might gather up some useful information or receive some healthful entertainment from the lectures, and ever ready to participate in the discussions of the evening.

He is also entitled to special mention as the firm and judicious friend of popular education and of the common schools, willing to devote his time and his means for the advancement of these objects. And we cannot be unmindful of his earnest advocacy of the temperance reformation at that period in its history when its unpopularity required that a man need be strong and unflinching to avow himself a friend of the cause; and as the avowed friend of equal rights, republican principles, and human advancement.

We recall the fact that from Sabbath to Sabbath, through sunshine and through storm, morning and evening, he took his seat in the house of prayer, there to unite with his friends and neighbors in the worship and service of God, and to listen to the instructions which fell from the lips of the preacher; and we remember, too, what a deep interest he took in the welfare of the religious society with which he was connected. Nor can we forget his constant labors in the Sunday-school in its days of prosperity and in its season of languishing; willing, if need be, to take the humblest position, so that he might be instrumental in doing something for the religious and moral education of the young.

We are glad to record his humble and faithful obedience to the command of One whom he openly called Master, as he united with others regularly in the "Feast of the Supper," that he might gather strength to carry out into practice in life the profession he there made.

Thus we remember him as the active man of business, as the useful citizen, and as the Christian disciple, as he appeared in his intercourse with the world.

A new generation has grown up since Mr. Marsh was taken away from the active pursuits of life, and compelled by disease and physical disability to live somewhat retired from the world. How few amongst us there are who, with so deep an interest in all matters of a public nature, could have been stricken as he was, and not have repined! Few indeed there are who would not at times have questioned the goodness of God, who could permit such an affliction to overtake them in the midst of their days of usefulness. Not so with him. For twenty years he endured the utmost measure of disease and suffering with patience and calmness, his countenance always cheerful, his conversation ever animated and instructive, never troubling with complaints his friends who visited him, never magnifying his infirmities, never leaving the impression upon the mind that he thought his case a peculiarly hard one; but, on the contrary, he was always glad to see his friends, entering into conversation with such a manifestation of earnestness upon all subjects as evinced not only that he kept himself well informed upon all matters of interest, but that he enjoyed opportunities for an exchange of thoughts upon all topics.

During his confinement Mr. Marsh devoted much time to reading and to genealogical and antiquarian research, thus keeping his mind active and preventing misanthropic and querulous feelings from finding a lodgement there. We have visited him at seasons when he was suffering much pain; at times when he had reason to think his departure might be near, and we have found the same calmness and tranquillity and resignation, — ever willing to go, or to stay and suffer, as his Heavenly Father might deem best; and we have never left his presence without feeling that we have been made better for the interview. Indeed, to us his example of patience and trust was more instructive and impressive than the most eloquent sermon.

To all who were privileged to enjoy his more intimate intercourse in the relations of domestic life, in all the duties of neighborhood and friendship, the recollection of many blessed hours, of many encouraging words, of many kind acts, will live forever and hallow his memory.

RICHARD SULLIVAN

The subject of this memoir was born on the seventeenth of June, 1779, at Groton in Massachusetts, and died, on the eleventh of December, 1861, in Cambridge. His grandfather, John Sullivan, born in 1691, at Limerick in Ireland, at the time of the siege of that city by William of Orange, was the son of Major Philip O'Sullivan Beare, of Ardea, whose father, Owen, was an immediate descendant from Daniel O'Sullivan, called Lord of Bearehaven. It is comparatively easy from these simple data to trace back the ancestral lines of the first American ancestor to very remote periods in the history of Ireland.

This grandfather of Mr. Richard Sullivan, according to tradition, came to this country involved in the plot of the Duke of Ormond in 1722 to restore the Stuarts. He brought with him a child, Margaret Browne, whom, when she grew up to maidenhood, he made his wife. Having himself enjoyed the advantages of a good education, familiar with several languages, and well grounded in mathematics, he found employment and acquired independence as a master of schools, public and private, on the borders of Maine and New Hampshire, at a period when there was no white man's dwelling between his own and Canada. Upon his farm in Berwick, Maine, where he resided, and where in 1795 he died at the age of one hundred and four, he educated his own sons and daughters and the children in his neighborhood. His sons were qualified by his instructions, without any other educational advantages, to cope with college graduates and with the leaders in the trying times of our Revolution as lawyers and statesmen. Many of his other pupils were noted for proficiency in useful learning, for character and good sense, which made them men of mark in their generation.

General John Sullivan, the third son, took a leading part in New Hampshire in resistance to parliamentary encroachments on colonial rights; and at the age of thirty-four, in his successful practice as a lawyer having already acquired considerable property, represented that Colony in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. His brother James, the father of Richard, at the age of thirty-one was appointed, in 1776, with John Adams and William Cushing, a judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Daniel, the elder surviving brother, had purchased with his father-in-law a tract of territory six miles square on Frenchman's Bay in Maine, and was extensively engaged in sawing up the forests for the market. Eben, the youngest, after many daring exploits in the War of Independence, became also a successful practitioner in the profession of the law, and according to tradition was highly esteemed for his eloquence and wit. With regard to them all, there exist many other sources of information; but this brief statement in reference to his nearest kinsfolk sheds light on the life now under consideration.

Richard's father, who had studied law with his brother John at Durham, New Hampshire, after breaking into the world at its weakest spot, to use his own expression, — at Georgetown in Maine, — rose rapidly in his profession, and at the age of twenty-three married Hetty, the daughter of William Odiorne, a wealthy shipbuilder at Durham, and granddaughter of Jotham, a judge of the Supreme Court of the Province. As a granddaughter of the judge had married the Hon. Mark Hunking, the father of Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, Governor of the Province, this connection brought the Odiornes into relations of affinity or consanguinity with many of the principal families of New Hampshire; and William Odiorne held the position of conservator of the King's forests under Governor Wentworth, his nephew.

Upon his marriage James Sullivan removed to Biddeford, Maine, where he erected a large and handsome mansion. When visited recently by the present writer, it was found standing in somewhat inelegant dilapidation, and probably is in existence still. James was sent to the General Court at Boston in 1774, and took an active part with the rest in defence of chartered rights. His appointment at so early an age to the Supreme Bench with the ablest men in the Province is the best test of the estimate placed upon his public services, upon his character, ability, and learning. Biddeford being nearly a hundred miles remote from the busiest portion of the Province, he sold his residence there in 1778 to Joseph Morrill, and took up his abode at Groton, Massachusetts, about forty miles from the capital. At this period his family consisted of his sons James, William, and John, and his daughter Hetty; to whom were added at Groton Richard, Bant, and George.

Seventy years later, Richard visited his natal place at Groton with the writer. Though he was but four years of age when he left it, the house and grounds now seemed familiar, and he related to me various incidents and impressions that had lain dormant in his memory during the long interval that had since elapsed. Across the road from where, if I remember aright, we were standing in the porch, lay a meadow with a gateway, and he was reminded of an incident which had threatened to be of serious consequence to himself in early childhood. For, as he was perched upon the hay-load passing through the outlet from the field, the wheel struck accidentally against the post of the gateway, and he fell from his lofty position to the ground. He remembered, too, how his elder brother James, who died in 1787, soon after taking his degree at Cambridge, while a lad of twelve upon the farm was often incited by the work people and neighbors to harangue them on the great subject that then occupied their attention. The tyranny of Great Britain, which they were seeking to shake off, was his principal theme; and with fervid eloquence he poured forth his patriotic sentiments.

The grounds occupied by Judge Sullivan's farm were memorable as the site of one of those deadly incidents now for the most part forgotten, but then cherished up by the country people. These traditions served to occupy the long winter evenings or the early morning hours, when in the intense bitterness of the severe cold they crouched over the embers, coaxing into genial glow the half-dried logs. In the French and Indian wars that desolated the wilderness between the Atlantic settlements and Canada was slain the ancient Paugus, in fair fight according to savage warfare. This well-known Chequassit sagamore left a son, bound by filial obligations to avenge his father's death. He bided his time, when, with the stealthy tread of the savage, he lurked about the Groton brook, where the slayer of his sire worked a saw-mill. His intended victim, apprised that the son of Paugus was on his path with a purpose not to be mistaken, repaired as usual to the mill, with his eye on the spot in the forest where his assailant was likely to appear. At the timely moment, he aimed his loaded gun, and young Paugus fell dead. The expansion of the brook in the meadow derives its name from the Indian's burial-place.

The family in 1782 removed to Menotomy, or West Cambridge, and then to Bowdoin Square in Boston. Here his mother died; and soon after his father married

Martha, the sister of Governor John Langdon, a lady of much character and many attractions. Her influence over the little flock, now consisting of seven, the charge of which was thus devolved upon her, in forming their characters and especially their manners to the high standard then exacted, was happy and abiding. It was no easy task; for they were healthy, strong children, overflowing with gayety and animal spirits, but too well trained by their father not to be amenable to discipline. His eminently distinguished position in political life and in his profession, and since 1790 as attorney-general of the State, reflected a lustre on his family at home. He had in other ways prospered. Cases involving large values brought proportionate fees, and though provident he was not parsimonious. He had erected a large and handsome mansion, surrounded by spacious gardens, in Summer Street. This was just below Hawley Street, which he laid out over his own land and gave to the town, on condition that it should bear the name of his friend with whom he had been associated in the public councils. He found time to take an active interest in the training and happiness of his children, who looked up to him with the tenderest affection. His amiable disposition, quick sympathies, and endless stock of entertainment made him an agreeable companion for all ages; and he had the happy faculty of gaining their confidence. They looked to him as their best friend and ally. His knowledge of human nature, and insight into motives, gained from his professional observation, made him a safe guide; and his precepts and example refined and ennobled the character of his children.

At the age of eight we find Richard's name inscribed on the list of the Latin School. The education furnished by Master Hunt in that venerable institution was of the best, and his pupils knew better than to neglect their opportunities. If the rod was not spared or the child spoiled by undue lenity, no tradition remains of his ever needing or receiving such discipline. There he remained until 1794, when he entered Harvard College, of which Joseph Willard was then the president. Sidney, the son of the president, was his friend and classmate, as were also Joseph Story, the eminent judge and jurist, and William Ellery Channing, the distinguished divine. Well prepared by diligence at school to rank well in his class, Mr. Sullivan gained easily the regard and esteem of his teachers as well as of his associates. He always spoke of his college days with pleasure, and had many characteristic tales to relate of his own experiences, and of his fellow-students and the professors.

In his father's office, which stood on Hawley Street within the garden limits, Richard studied law under conditions favorable for distinguished success in his profession. He had abundant chances to become familiar with the details of practice in all its departments where so much was going on; also with many of the able counsellors who had frequent occasion to visit the office, and with other distinguished characters who gave the Suffolk Bar of that period its fame. Nor was it any disadvantage to him, whether he was to pursue his profession or serve his generation in other ways, that his teacher was not only familiar with the law as it was, but that from his acquaintance with the great authorities, from his experience on the Bench, and his adaptation of English and colonial law to our new institutions, he should have been so profoundly versed in those great principles of human nature and political ethics which underlie all codes. What Burke said so eloquently of the influence of the law in elevating and ennobling the character was exemplified in the subject of our memoir, as in the other sons of Judge Sullivan. He improved his time; and when he entered the Bar and had an office of his own, he was well qualified to take his part creditably with the rest.

For one so happily placed, and by nature and training fitted to enjoy it, the society of Boston was too gay and brilliant at the time not to engross pleasantly all his periods of relaxation. The place had an extensive commerce. Intelligent strangers from across the sea visited it, and wealth rapidly accumulated. The spacious dwellings that filled with their gardens its more fashionable quarters opened their doors wide to a most graceful hospitality. Taste, chastened by religious sentiment, kept pure the social standards, while the gifted men who had taken part in the Revolution kept pace in their conversation and writings with the growing enlightenment. If we may credit the traditions of the period, the broad culture, sparkling wit, interesting anecdotes, that gave animation to the festal board or domestic hearth, and lent substantial charm to the courtly manners of good society, have rarely been surpassed. We have abundant evidence to show that his children, neither in their intellectual accomplishments, nor in wit and manners, did injustice to the Judge or his wife. We are sometimes charged with an extreme admiration of our native city. This is a good fault, and not an uncommon experience. But we think, and the world seems disposed to take us at our own estimate, that few of the intellectual centres at home or abroad could more safely place their light upon the hill-top.

Another destiny than that of hard work in his profession awaited Mr. Sullivan as he entered upon busy life. His elder brother James had formed at Harvard an abiding friendship with Thomas Graves Russell, one of his classmates. Soon after graduating they took part in putting down the Shays Rebellion. They both held office in a cavalry corps of one hundred troopers sent out to capture Shattuck's forces in Middlesex. It was in November, 1786. The cold was severe; they hardly left their saddles; and both James and Russell lost their lives from lung complaints brought on by exposure. While making preparation for their campaign, Hetty, the only daughter of Judge Sullivan, then fifteen years of age, helped her brothers and their friends in filling cartridges. This led to a pleasant acquaintance, which ripened into a mutual interest between her and young Russell, and resulted in their subsequent engagement. I have the miniatures interchanged, as was then one custom of betrothal where opulence permitted the employment of such an artist as Malbone. Russell, sent to his uncle, Mr. James Russell, at Bristol in England, father of General Lechmere Russell, in the hope of restoring his health, there died.

Richard Russell, an offshoot of the Strensham branch in England, came out in 1630, and his descendants had been pre-eminent in social circles and public service of the Colony and Province throughout their generations. The Hon. Thomas Russell, father of Hetty's betrothed, was one of the most honored and affluent of the merchant princes who built up our prosperity after the war. He was the friend of Washington and of all the most distinguished persons here and throughout the country. By his first wife, Miss Henley, of Charlestown, he had four sons and a daughter; and upon her death he married Miss Sarah Sever of Kingston, in Plymouth Colony, the mother of the future wife of our subject. Judge Sullivan at this time had lost his first wife, and had married Martha, the sister of Governor John Langdon, for his second. The parents, thus favorably disposed to regard matrimony as peculiarly propitious to happiness, threw no obstacles in the way of the engagement of young Russell and Hetty, although they were hardly old enough yet for assuming the obligations of the married state.

Mr. Russell later took John L. Sullivan into his counting-house to be educated in commercial pursuits, soon after he took his degree at Cambridge, in 1795; and in process of time John married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter. In the meanwhile Hetty's betrothed had died in

England; and Mr. Russell, who, after the decease of Miss Sever, had married a third wife, Miss Watson of Plymouth, not long after closed his own prosperous career in its prime. It is said that Sir Grenville Temple had known Miss Watson in earlier days. Soon after Mr. Russell's death, his widow married Sir Grenville, and they went to reside in the city of New York. There Sir John, his father, had been for several years British consul. Though the tenth baronet of his branch of the family, he had inherited the baronetcy quite recently through a distant kinsman. Robert Temple, the father of Sir John, had long lived at the Ten Hill Farms near Boston, and Sir John had married the daughter of Governor James Bowdoin. Through the Shirleys and Ervings, the Temples were thus connected with many other influential families of Boston, and the engagement of Hetty Sullivan to Mr. Russell's eldest son, leading to the marriage of her brother John to Mr. Russell's daughter Elizabeth, in turn led to Richard Sullivan's marrying the second daughter, Sarah.

After her father's death Miss Sarah Russell resided with her aunts at Charlestown; but was often enough with her own sister to give Richard abundant opportunities of meeting her. That this acquaintance rapidly ripened into mutual devotion could not surprise those who knew them. If Mr. Sullivan had been called upon to work hard for subsistence, he was in every way prepared by his talents, training, and character; but as his wife inherited an ample fortune for all their wants from her father, he was quite willing to leave the honors and opportunities of professional life to those that needed them more, content to perform his share of the world's work without compensation. The marriage took place May 22, 1804. His wife, born December 1, 1786, was not quite eighteen. The miniature of Mrs. Sullivan by Malbone represents her as admirable in beauty and nobleness; and there never breathed a woman to inspire a more profound affection, or whose traits of character were better calculated to bless in the conjugal or parental relation.

Soon after the birth of their first child, Elizabeth Lowell, born August 22, 1805, Mr. Sullivan concluded to take his family to Europe. Sir Grenville and Lady Temple, who had known Mrs. Sullivan in Boston and had become much attached to her, were residing in Rome, and urged their coming out to join them. The times were not propitious for safety or comfort in travel by land, or free from danger on the seas; but they were not discouraged. They found their path unobstructed, and reached safely their destination. They passed the winter in Italy, chiefly in Rome, both well prepared by education and taste to appreciate its marvels. Mr. John L. Sullivan was with them, and remained till called home by the death of his brother Bant. It is unfortunate that their journals and correspondence, which contained much of historic and social importance, and of interest even for the general reader, should have been suffered to perish.

In 1806 Richard's father had been elected governor of Massachusetts, as the legislative committee reported; but as there were several returns contested, at his own request their report in his favor was withdrawn. For the two succeeding years he was chosen, and died in office December 8, 1808. A letter to his son Richard indicates how intimate and affectionate were the relations subsisting between them.

The following summer the travellers were in Switzerland, where George Sullivan joined them. He had come to Europe as secretary of legation to the Hon. James Bowdoin, — the brother of Lady Elizabeth Temple and uncle of Sir Grenville, — minister from the United States to Spain; but the disturbed state of that country compelled Mr. Bowdoin to remain in Paris. He had brought with him his grandniece, Miss Sarah Winthrop, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop, and his wife, — the daughter of Sir John Temple. George and Miss Winthrop were thrown much together in Paris, and an attachment grew up between them which ended a few years after in their marriage. What parts of Switzerland were visited, what passes traversed or mountains climbed, cannot be told, as their letters also perished in the conflagrations to which they have been exposed. Both Mr. and Mrs. Sullivan were happily constituted to derive the keenest enjoyment from the beauties and sublimities of that marvellous land.

Their second child, Sarah Sever, was born in Paris, March 30, 1808. We have but little to relate of their experiences in France. It was a period of startling incidents and of great historic events. When their thoughts turned homewards they had much difficulty in getting permission to leave the country, and were obliged to cross into Spain and embark from St. Sebastian.

Mr. Sullivan reached home only in season to take leave of his dying father, who had outlived the animosities of party and was revered by all for his forty years of devoted fidelity to the interests of the public. His children were all provided for; and the relatives of Mrs. Richard Sullivan — the Lowells, Gardiners, Duttons — were affluent and social. Mr. Richard Sullivan purchased the house numbered Five in Park Street, and there resided for several years.

The war of 1812 with Great Britain aroused a military spirit in the great seaports peculiarly exposed to attack or annoyance. George Sullivan, with about two hundred men, had been placed in charge of the Navy Yard, when menaced by cruisers off the coast, and the place being visited by an Englishman, who afterwards proved to be a spy, he was shown the preparations for defence, which discouraged the intended assailants. Some of the wealthier inhabitants of Boston, realizing the danger of some similar project without organized forces to repel, in order to cherish a taste for military science as well as the practice of arms, raised troops of volunteers. Josiah Quincy, afterwards president of Harvard College and mayor of Boston, with Richard Sullivan as his second in command, established a cavalry corps, called the Hussars. It was well mounted, and the uniforms were peculiarly rich and brilliant. Under their charge the corps was admirably disciplined and thoroughly drilled, and made an imposing display.

The Sullivans were all good riders. Their father, as attorney-general or judge, traversed the Commonwealth on horseback from the eastern limits of Maine to the western bounds of Berkshire; and when Richard went to Europe he left with his father a fine horse called Dapple Gray. It formed part of his cortege when he travelled as Governor, and he occasionally mounted it in order to vary the monotony of his journeys. He rode this horse on the several muster-fields which he attended as commander-in-chief. His son Bant, who was betrothed to a lady in Providence, often rode the forty miles of an afternoon, returning in the same way the next morning before the hour for business. William, as brigadier of the Suffolk regiments, was a good horseman; and James lost his life from exposure, as we have related, by being almost constantly in the saddle in pursuit of Shattuck in Shays's Rebellion. John served as aid to his father. Richard was no less fond of horses, and, in this respect as in many others, was well qualified for his command of the troop. He succeeded Mr. Quincy in the command; and though the war closed in 1815, the corps was kept up with much ardor for three or four years longer.

One of his near neighbors in Park Street was Dr. John C. Warren. With him, Dr. John G. Gorham, and some other kindred spirits, he formed a club who dined together at stated intervals at each other's houses. On one of these occasions the hospitals of Europe were discussed; and they determined to spare no efforts to establish one in Boston. Their plans required time to mature, and the requisite funds were to be procured. Mr. John Lowell and Mr. John McLean had married sisters, and the latter having no children and a large estate needed little persuasion to devise a large part of his means for the purpose. Mr. Sullivan delivered an address at King's Chapel which brought in a considerable sum; and it is said that at a supper-party at Mr. Joseph Coolidge's in Bowdoin Square thirty thousand dollars were subscribed at the table. From this effort resulted our Massachusetts General Hospital and the McLean branch for the insane, — one of the best and best endowed institutions of the kind in the United States.

Mr. Sullivan, with a natural taste for country life, about the year 1815 purchased a place in Brookline, then about to be rendered more accessible by the construction of the Mill-dam. It lay opposite the meeting-house then known as Dr. Pierce's, and is now the residence of Mrs. Nathaniel Bowditch, and embraced the area of what is now the Cochituate reservoir. The rapid descents, superb rocks, and fine forest trees rendered it peculiarly attractive. Its pleasant house with handsome hall overlooking the wild glens from the piazza in the rear, is associated in the memory of the surviving members of the family with many impressions of great natural beauty. Its delightful apartments witnessed many scenes of unqualified enjoyment.

There never were pleasanter companions for the young than Mr. Sullivan and his brothers. He excelled as a teller of romances, weird or amusing, invented as they were told, varying with each repetition, and crowded with incidents that seemed actual occurrences to his absorbed listeners. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes and personal experiences, which rendered his conversation equally enjoyable to persons more mature; and these precious gifts never fully deserted him.

He took a deep interest in farming, in raising choice fruits and flowers, and his hot-houses abounded in roses and rare plants. His grapes were of the finest varieties, and were tended and pruned with untiring care by his own hands. Near him resided Colonel Perkins and his brother, Mr. Samuel G. Perkins, whose son married Mr. Sullivan's second daughter, and both of them excelled in garden growths. The whole neighborhood was then, and is still, a garden of unsurpassed loveliness, — its lanes lined with sweet-briar and barberry, its pleasure-grounds redolent with locust and hawthorn. It was occupied by a cluster of refined and cultured families who were social, and in many instances connected by ties of friendship and affection. Near by spread Jamaica Pond, girdled with woods and overtopped by Prince's Hill, with the shores highly cultivated in tasteful pleasure-grounds.

The principal merchants and other wealthy inhabitants of Boston had summer residences in the beautiful country round about the city. They realized how much could be accomplished by scientific study and experiment towards improving the breed of horses and cattle for the general benefit, and they were constantly zealous in introducing new flowers, fruits and vegetables, trees and shrubs. Mr. Sullivan was one of the most active members of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. Its cattle-shows at Brighton were largely attended; and these exhibitions long continued to be gala days of general enjoyment, in which all the people for a dozen miles around participated.

Harvard College has at all times been in a large measure independent of legislative control, though subject for a long period to State visitation. Besides its president and six fellows, in whom were vested, under its original incorporation, the executive functions, the duty of visitation has been lodged in a board of overseers, differently constituted at different periods. It was composed in the early part of the century of the governor, lieutenant-governor, senate and council, speaker of the house, president of the college, and six neighboring pastors. Certain men, few in number, selected from the public, embracing some of our best-known names for scholarship, ability, and character, also formed part of this board. It is an honored roll. Mr. Sullivan, chosen in 1821, held the office for thirty-two years to 1852, a longer period than that of any other member in the list. It was no sinecure. He served on many committees, to which were submitted for consideration whatever concerned the most important interests of the university.

His public spirit, genial ways, and integrity of character, his sound judgment and readiness to discharge every duty, endeared him to his neighbors and won their sincere respect. Taking a deep interest not only in the concerns of the town but in all political questions, he was elected, in 1820, to the governor's council by the County of Norfolk. The State was generally Federalist, and his political opinions coincided with that party. In 1820 he was a delegate to that remarkable body of men, — the convention to revise the State constitution. They found little to alter. Mr. John Adams, who had prepared the first draught of that instrument, was called upon to preside; but as he was nearly ninety years of age he declined, and Chief Justice Parker took his place. Governor Sullivan, as he said in 1782 in a communication to the public, had had considerable share in forming the original constitution of 1780, and with Samuel Adams draughted the address to the people. His son, William, as chairman, prepared the address in 1820, recommending the changes proposed. Richard took a less prominent part. Whenever he felt called upon he engaged in the debate. His only speeches reported, upon the amendments relating to religious worship, were sensible though brief. But he did his duty conscientiously.

In 1824 he received a request from several of his friends, influential in politics, to represent the Norfolk district in Congress. Mr. John Quincy Adams was at the time the favorite candidate for the presidency, in Norfolk and in the State, and it was in his interest that Mr. Sullivan was selected to represent the district. The letter communicating the request is still extant. This offer was declined in deference to the wishes of his wife.

From his knowledge of our historical antecedents and the actual state of affairs, his elevated standards of what was just and prudent in times that were already disturbed with sectional bitterness, his influence would have been of much value in Washington. But if ambitious to take part as a good citizen in national affairs, his first duty, under the circumstances then existing, was to his own family. Before the introduction of railroads, canals transported crops and merchandise between the coast and the interior. His father had projected the Middlesex canal, which extended far up into New Hampshire. His brothers had taken a large interest in its construction and owned largely of its stock; and in order to make it available for its objects, Richard procured an act of incorporation for the Concord Boating Company, which involved much risk, and if not watched would entail loss. This was another reason why he might have felt constrained to decline the public service which seems by the correspondence to have been open to him had he seen fit to accept the nomination to Congress.

Occasional parties of pleasure were made up on the canal, and a boat of elegant proportions, and brilliantly decorated for the purpose, was owned by the corporation. Often Mr. Sullivan and his brothers, who held a preponderating interest in the property, made up such parties for the entertainment of their families and invited guests. If the speed of four or five miles an hour seemed slow compared with modern rates of locomotion, the canal passed through some of the most beautiful country seats in the neighborhood of Boston. Its placid course extended midst flowers and shrubs and clumps of majestic forest trees through a scenery of romantic beauty, — through lakes and streams and in sight of picturesque dwellings. A band of music was generally in attendance. The way was enlivened by vocal music, and songs of Burns and Moore and Haynes Bailey were sung in solo or chorus; and often in the summer days and pleasant weather, the younger people, for whom such recreations were a special delight, might have been seen dancing on the mowed lawns which bordered the canal.

Horn Pond at Woburn offered an ample area for rowing. When, towards sunset, after these various recreations, the company assembled on the lawn, various round tables covered with spotless damask, loaded with flowers and fruit, with strawberries and ices, refreshed those who were weary with so many enjoyments. Such as were permitted to participate in these gatherings must recall the festal scenes where those to whom we were most fondly attached constituted the company. When at sunset we embarked on our way homeward, the changing landscape afforded a variety of beauty of soft lights and refreshing breezes ever to be remembered. To the splash of the graceful boat drawn through the waters rose on the evening air cadenced voices of the many who then in every family were so gifted and carefully trained. The hours of moonlight flitted away in merry glee, in strains of sentiment and pathos, which then exerted a great influence in developing affection and sensibility. With music and cheery conversation, the way back thus formed a fit ending for so much happiness. It will never be forgotten how large a part of this gratification was due to the genial sympathies and considerate thoughtfulness of the subject of this memoir.

Among other services rendered by him to Brookline was the attention he devoted to the public schools. In this he had able coadjutors. Although the place had kept up with the advancing light of the day in methods of education, there was room for improvement. For the higher grades Mr. Sullivan helped to establish schools, within reach of rich and poor alike, to afford all who had wish and fitness the best advantages practicable. In co-operation with Mr. Amos Atkinson, — whose virtues glow with additional lustre from the honored career of his sons, — he also established a private classical school.

Meanwhile, in his beautiful home at Brookline, were growing up around him a group of children, the delight of all who knew them. They were generally connected by consanguinity with the most respected and most estimable, and this implies not only a numerous circle, but one whose influences were the best in the formation of character. Close by Mr. Sullivan's was one of the most interesting country homes, and there the sisters of the eloquent and saintly Buckminster had established a school. Part of their pupils resided under their roof, and part, where their own homes were not remote, attended as day-scholars. All that came within the blessed influence of these admirable ladies bore in manner and character the benefit; and the country around — with Jamaica Pond near by, and Prince's Hill and the wild forests skirted by the most superb pleasure-grounds and gardens of the Lees, Perkinses, and Higginsons, and many other well-known families — formed a fitting home for the development of the most desirable feminine attributes.

Besides, it was at a time when civilization was developing a grace and refinement not since excelled. Scott and

Miss Edgeworth were producing their fascinating creations; Wordsworth and other writers, a galaxy of genius, presenting in attractive forms what was best calculated to stir the imagination and lend a grace to life, teaching by their delineations not only what was worthy of imitation, but also to avoid that which was objectionable in taste or in morals. Their fascinations were not confined to the young; and it is a matter of common observation how much the whole culture of the period was tinctured by the delicacy and elevated standards which the new literature infused among the educated classes of all who spoke our language.

Mr. Sullivan's life was not all sunshine. His youngest child, Frank, died in infancy; his youngest daughter, Mary, as she was emerging from childhood. His wife, to whom he was deeply attached, died in 1831, and his eldest daughter, Eliza, soon followed. While there lingered a hope that change of climate might avert the disease or mitigate its distress, he went with her to Cuba and to Carolina; but all was unavailing, and she died April 18, 1833.

A letter to his brother William during this period refers to interesting historical incidents, and possesses other claims to be preserved.

CHARLESTON, December 26, 1831.

DEAR WILLIAM, — We were ten days on the road from Norfolk to this place; by no means so uncomfortable a journey as I apprehended, nor was Eliza injuriously affected by the cold or the necessity of making long stages. She is, I think, in a state to derive essential advantage from the residence in Cuba, being decidedly convalescent, as it seems to me. To-morrow we sail for Cuba in a large schooner with excellent accommodations for so small a party. The passages from this place are from four to ten days. In the whole distance of four hundred and eighty miles between Norfolk and this place, by the way of Columbia, there are but seven congregations of houses that deserve the name of a village; I speak, of course, of what lies on the main road only. But whether it be the mildness of the climate, or from whatever cause, the houses of the planters are not large, and are generally very slight, indifferent both in point of accommodation and appearance. Still they are clean within; there are very good beds and excellent food, well served, in very unpromising taverns. Your acquaintance, Mr. Legare, gave me a dinner the day after my arrival. He resides with his mother and an unmarried sister. He is, as you perhaps know, the Attorney-General, and esteemed a man of great merit as a lawyer and *belles-lettres* scholar.

Colonel Cruger, a gentleman you met at the Springs, is also one of our acquaintance here. I rather think you will hear little more in a threatening way of nullification from this quarter. The legislature during the last session studiously avoided the topic; and it is said that, from a state of bitter animosity, individuals in their private intercourse have become quite tolerant or indifferent. Perhaps some rise in the prices of their staples may account for the change, and very probably, because it seems to be the fact that the real cause of all the trouble here has been the depression in the price of cotton last year and the year before. At Mr. Legare's dinner some one had used the term "nullification" incidentally in telling a story. Mr. Poinsett took the occasion to say that he could never understand what was meant or wished by the nullification party; but nobody replied, and the matter dropped. Governor Hamilton is going out of office, and probably nullification will abdicate the gubernatorial chair with him forever. The subject which occupies the public attention here at this time is the proposed expulsion of Dr. Cooper, as President of Columbia College, for denying the authenticity of the Old Testament and declaring the inutility of a regular clergy, in his lectures to the students. It is said generally he will be compelled to retire.

I shall write you on my arrival in Cuba. With love to your wife and family,

Affectionately yours,

RICHARD SULLIVAN.

The death of his eldest daughter was soon followed by that of Mrs. Perkins, which occurred on March 14, 1839. Mrs. Cunningham did not long survive, and their father was left alone with his two sons, Richard and James. His life had been too much wrapped up in that of his wife and children for him not to suffer poignantly from these bereavements; but he was too submissive to the ways of Providence, too devout a Christian, to murmur or repine. He gave up his beautiful home in Brookline, took apartments in the house at the corner of Hancock Avenue and Mount Vernon Street, overlooking the State House ground, and there for twenty years made his home. Francis Bassett, Jr., J. Huntingdon Wolcott, Edward G. Loring, Benjamin R. Curtis, and Joseph Russell were also among the inmates of Miss Wentworth's house; and surely nowhere else did the ebbless tide of anecdote and every variety of topic flow on more incessantly or give greater delight.

The following letters from three of his intimate friends — Judge Story, John Lowell, and Judge Curtis — attest their high estimate of his character, and indicate the affection with which he inspired all who were brought into intimate relations with him in affairs public or private, in social life or by ties of consanguinity.

From John Lowell, Esq.

Roxbury, June 8, 1817.

My dear Sir, — Your letter excited feelings which I could not suppress if I would, and which I have no disposition to do. The strongest of them is the gratification I feel at the expression of your personal regard for me. I never allow myself to express to any person anything which I do not, or more than I do, feel. But I assure you that I could not have received from any person a testimony of regard which would have been more valuable than from you. It is a very great pleasure to me, because my esteem and affection for you have been constantly growing ever since I had the happiness to be nearly connected and associated with you. . . . Adieu.

Yours with great regard and esteem,

J. Lowell.

From Hon. Joseph Story.

SALEM, October 26, 1819.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I will dine with you on Saturday, if the weather proves favorable, with the greatest pleasure. I will do this, however, not for the purpose you name, but from the desire of being in your company and deriving from it, what to me is more grateful than any mere literary conversation, the delightful recollection that I am with an old friend, with whom I have lived in confidence for more than twenty years, and whose friendship and good opinion are to me of inestimable, let me repeat it, of inestimable value. What pretension indeed have I to a literary character which you do not possess in common?

Our pursuits, so far as they have differed, have only led me to dry and technical paths, and yours have led you to cultivate an elegant taste and, may I add with the truth of a friend, the highest virtues that adorn the human character. "Sic itur ad astra."

If it should happen that I should not be at your house punctually at your dinner hour, you must not wait a moment for me, and you may calculate that some unexpected business has detained me; for punctuality, even in dinner hours, I hold to be a virtue, I mean a minor virtue. I am, as ever,

Your affectionate friend,

JOSEPH STORY.

HON. RICHARD SULLIVAN.

From Hon. Joseph Story.

CAMBRIDGE, May 12, 1838.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — On my return from my Eastern circuit I had the pleasure of receiving the books which you have so kindly presented to me. They are valuable in themselves, and on that account I shall have great satisfaction in placing them in my library; but I confess that in my eyes their chief and truest value arises from their being your gift, and connected with all the reminiscences of the best part of my life. More than forty years have passed by since our friendship first began;

and it is the sweetest source of consolation to me now, that I still am permitted to believe in its uninterrupted continuance. Let me say that it has always had a powerful influence on my thoughts and actions. I have desired to deserve it, and have been proud to possess it. It is true that we meet rarely, but nevertheless I feel that our friendship is not of that sickly character which requires to be constantly nursed in order to save it from perishing. It is still with me as fresh as ever; and among those hopes which I most fondly cherish is this, — that I hold it steadfast to the close of my life. In truth I now find that I am too old to form new friendships, and that time is perpetually eating away from me "some fond connection, some endearing tie." I cling therefore to old friends and to old recollections because they soothe and cheer the gentle descent on the shady side of life.

I need hardly say how glad I should be to see you at Cambridge. My duties are so incessant and exhausting that I am rarely able to leave home, but upon the urgency of business. But wherever I am, I pray you to believe me to be,

Most affectionately your friend,

JOSEPH STORY.

HON. RICHARD SULLIVAN.

From Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis.

BOSTON, November 12, 1851.

DEAR SIR, — I have been prevented by very pressing engagements from earlier returning to you my thanks for your very kind and welcome note respecting my leaving the Bar. There are many reasons why I was reluctant to make the change, and not the least powerful was the necessary loss of a confidential, and to me extremely useful, intercourse with wise and good men whom I had the happiness to number among my clients, and one of whom you permitted me to consider yourself. I assure you, my dear sir, that I shall always look back upon the time I spent in the same family with you as important to me through life, from the opportunity I thus had to know you; and though circumstances have prevented me from continuing to see you frequently, I shall ever cherish a lively recollection not only of your kindness to me, but of your example as a Christian gentleman. I hope you will not think it improper for me thus to express what I unaffectedly feel. With great respect and regard,

Your obedient servant,

B. R. CURTIS.

Though surrounded by numberless kinsfolk, who loved him very dearly, the prop of his declining years was his eldest son, bearing his own name. It was a pleasure for one who cared little for enjoyments for himself, and had outlived the ambitions and solicitudes of life, to follow his son in his travels and labors. It was a source of peculiar satisfaction to him that this son should have become united in marriage with Henrietta, daughter of Mr. Robert H. Gardiner, of Gardiner, Maine, whose parents had been his friends from his own early childhood. Her gifts and accomplishments, lofty standards, and cultured tastes, her excellent judgment and active sympathies, contributed to his happiness, and kept alive his interest in social events and companionship, for which he had such peculiar aptitudes.

He was never idle. While a diligent student, he yet found his chief employment in improving some real estate that came to his children from their mother, and in the various societies with which he was connected. The church he attended in Boston was that of his father, in Brattle Square. He was much attached to his pastor, Dr. Lothrop; and as a layman he took part in several ecclesiastical councils, and presided over that which tried Dr. John Pierpont. When long past his three score years and ten, he became less active and energetic. His son Richard, in 1859, concluded to make his home in Cambridge, in the Fay Mansion, a large square brick building, still standing, near the Washington Elm. In that home Mr. Sullivan passed the remainder of his days, and there his life ebbed away in placid serenity. On Sunday, the eleventh of December, 1861, the writer accompanied Dr.

Lothrop, who was summoned to render the last consolations of the dying. Dr. Lothrop's funeral discourse delineated a memorable example of a generous and noble disposition, guided by principle and governed by sense of duty. Those who remember his thoughtfulness of others, his ready sacrifice of self, his courteous politeness, his fidelity to obligation, and know the inspiration from which they took their source, will recognize his right, accorded both by Dr. Lothrop and Judge Curtis, to be considered a Christian gentleman.

From Hon. William Appleton, on the Day of the Funeral.

LONGWOOD, Dec. 14, 1861.

RICHARD SULLIVAN, JR.

MY DEAR SIR, — I regretted that it was not in my power to be with you this day. I have known your father since I became of the family. I have seen him in sorrow and joy, always the same calm, judicious man. A purer spirit than his I do not know. The veneration and love of my dear, departed wife was often the subject of our conversation. . .

With love to your wife, I remain sincerely yours,

WILLIAM APPLETON.

PYNSON BLAKE

Pynson Blake was born in Boston, October 16, 1796. He was a son of James and Lydia (Dana) Blake, and a descendant in the sixth generation from William and Agnes Blake, of Dorchester, who emigrated from Somersetshire, England, about the year 1636.

The line of descent was through James[2] and Elizabeth (Clap) Blake, James[3] and Ruth (Batchelder), James[4] and Wait (Simpson), James[5] and Mary (Pinson), and James[6] and Lydia (Dana) Blake. His mother was a daughter of John and Abigail (Smith) Dana of Newton, and a descendant of Richard Dana of Cambridge, through the line of Benjamin,[2] Benjamin,[3] and John.[4]

In the paternal line of ancestors there were men of marked ability and character. William Blake, the immigrant, was clerk of the writs and recorder for the town of Dorchester; James, a deacon and ruling elder of the Church in Dorchester for twenty-eight years; James, a deacon of the same Church for twenty-three years; and James, the surveyor, town officer, and annalist. On the maternal side, his grandfather, John Dana, was one of the founders and leaders of the Baptist Church in Newton.

Mr. Blake's father, a housewright, about the year 1790 built for himself a large house on a lot situate on Pleasant Street, Boston, and lately forming the westerly corner of Kirkland Street. Here the son Pynson was born. Although the name of the street is now somewhat a misnomer, yet in earlier days it was really a pleasant highway, and contained many fine residences. The water of the "Back Bay" then flowed nearly up to the street, and fishing from the shop at the rear of the house was not an unusual sport for the young lad, to which he often used to refer with pleasure in after life.

The subject of this sketch received the name of Pinson, in honor of his grandmother; but quite early in life adopted the orthography Pynson, an act which in later life he regretted. Mary Pinson was the daughter of William, of Charlestown, but all efforts to trace the ancestry of the father have as yet proved unsuccessful.

He was educated in the public schools of Boston, and in 1810 was awarded a Franklin medal at the South School, then located on Common Street. On the formation of the Franklin Medal Association in 1856, he became a member; and was active in endeavors to complete the list of the medal scholars of his day.

In early manhood Mr. Blake was associated with his brother in the salt business, at Number 48 Long Wharf, afterwards and for many years known as Bent & Blake's. In the year 1820 he went to Orange, Franklin County, Massachusetts, and was there engaged in trade for about three years, when he removed to Princeton, Worcester County, and opened a store for the sale of general merchandise.

In the latter town he married, April 18, 1826, Sally Dana, a daughter of John and Lucinda (Mirick) Dana. She died in South Boston, May 28, 1848, in the forty-sixth year of her age. By her he had four sons and two daughters, of whom three only are now living: namely, Sarah Sophia, wife of Thomas S. Nye of Attleboro', Massachusetts; the Rev. Frederic Dana Blake, of Wickford, Rhode Island, a graduate of Waterville College, now Colby University, 1861; and Francis Everett Blake, of Boston.

While a resident at Princeton, Mr. Blake took an active part with the young men in the affairs of the town, and was a prominent member of a society for mutual improvement, being very fond of reading and debate. He was a member for some years of the Congregational Church, but subsequently united with the Baptist Church, in which denomination he always took a deep interest, and became one of its leading members. It is worthy of note, that at a time when the use of intoxicating drinks was almost universal, he took a firm stand for total abstinence, banished liquor from his house, and was the first in the town to refuse to keep it for sale.

In 1841 he removed to Boston, taking up his residence at South Boston, with which locality he had always been familiar. His brother Samuel was then living on the ancient homestead, now on the corner of Broadway and P Street, where Mr. Blake in his boyhood had often visited his grandparents. It was the same spot on which, in 1680, Elder James Blake built a house for his son James, the deacon, probably at that time the only house east of the present Dorchester Street, and the second in order of erection on Dorchester Neck, as the peninsula was then designated.

Here, also, had lived successive generations of the family; and here, doubtless, were written the valuable Annals of Dorchester, together with a great mass of town records, by James Blake the third, who served as town clerk for twenty-four years, and town treasurer for twenty-five years. There is no doubt that here also were plotted the plans of the whole town of Dorchester, which were executed with neatness and skill, and were always considered of the highest authority. The plans of the southerly part of this town, which extended at the time of which we are writing to the Rhode Island line, embracing the modern towns of Canton, Stoughton, Sharon and Foxboro', are still preserved, and are as valuable to the greater part of Norfolk County as the Book of Possessions is to the City of Boston. They are beautiful in design, and give evidence of the author's artistic taste and experience. In fact, the Blake family, from the first settlement of Dorchester, had been identified with the "Neck;" and at one time nearly a sixth of the whole territory was in their possession.

After Mr. Blake's removal to Boston, he was engaged in business on Utica and Lincoln Streets, but subsequently devoted his attention to real estate, and finally to the prosecution of claims for pensions; in which latter business he was very persevering, often appearing more anxious to establish the claim for the sake of his client, than for any remuneration he might receive.

Having never recovered from a serious illness when a young man, the condition of his health interfered with a prosperous business career; he suffered much, also, with his eyes, which were so weak that in the later years of his life he could scarcely use them for reading or writing. He was a man of good intellectual abilities; possessed much general knowledge; and, had his sight permitted, would have greatly enjoyed reading and study. Indeed, the injury to his eyes was aggravated by the injudicious use of them when a young man, in his eagerness to acquire knowledge.

Of historical research he was very fond. He was equally interested in genealogy, and collected many facts relating to the Blake, Dana, Mirick, and Pinson families. In the collection and arrangement of such facts he was methodical, painstaking, and accurate; in this respect exhibiting the characteristics of his ancestor, the annalist.

During his residence in South Boston, he naturally felt great interest in its history, and in the improvements which he witnessed in that vicinity.

With such tastes and with such ancestors, he was anxious to associate himself with gentlemen who sympathized with him, and he became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 6, 1860.

Mr. Blake was a man of strict integrity and piety. From the time of his removal to South Boston till his death he was a consistent member of the South Baptist Church, and at one time was its clerk. He was esteemed by all who knew him; and, though appearing somewhat quiet and reserved, was really of a sociable disposition, fond of the company of his friends, and a man of great kindness of heart.

He was an invalid the last two years of his life, and died in South Boston, January 7, 1862. His remains, with those of his wife and children, have been removed from the Union Cemetery at South Boston, where they were first buried, to Princeton, Massachusetts.

JOHN TYLER

John Tyler, the tenth President of the United States, was a descendant in the fifth generation from Henry Tyler, a native of Shropshire, England, who with his wife Mary migrated to Virginia, and was granted, January 7, 1652, two hundred and fifty-four acres of land at the "Middle Plantations," upon which he settled.

Some interesting speculations regarding early representatives of the name Tyler in England, and its curious etymological changes, are presented in a correspondence, held in 1852, between President Tyler and the Rev. William Tyler, of Massachusetts, as to their common lineage. It is there conjectured that the first of the family who settled in England was of Norman origin; was a companion of William the Conqueror; assisted him in destroying the Saxon power, which went down with Harold; and was a beneficiary in the parcelling out of land. In 1202, the name was Gilbert de Tiller. In 1233 the name was rendered De Tyler; then Le Tyler, when the race became more numerous, — being represented in parliament by Thomas le Tyler, in 1311; and finally, Tyler, an extensive family, including knights, baronets, admirals, members of parliament, distinguished divines, etc.

According to tradition, two brothers of Henry Tyler settled about the same period, one in Massachusetts and the other in Connecticut. The first wife of Henry Tyler dying, he married, secondly, in Virginia, Anne, daughter of John and Anne Orchard. The issue of this last marriage was three sons: Henry, John, and Daniel; the first of whom, Henry, married twice, — first, Elizabeth, granddaughter of Colonel John Page, the progenitor of the worthy Virginia family of the name; secondly, Edith Hardaway. This Henry Tyler was a man of station and influence in the Colony. After the destruction by fire of the State-House at Jamestown, Governor Francis Nicholson, in 1699, removed the seat of government to Middle Plantations, and the General Assembly, by Act, laid off the city of Williamsburg as the new capital, on the lands of Henry Tyler, "Gentleman," who was named with the Governor, Edmund Jenings, Philip Ludwell, Thomas Ballard, Lewis Burwell, Philip Ludwell, Jr., John Page, James Whaley, and Benjamin Harrison, Jr., trustees and directors to carry the same into effect. He retained land for the site of a residence for himself adjoining the Governor's "palace," and was on terms of friendship with Governor Nicholson. He died in 1729, having had issue by his first marriage only, — three sons: John, Henry, and Francis, the first of whom, John, married Elizabeth Low of James City County, and, dying sometime between 1720 and 1729, left issue a daughter Joanna, who married Dr. William McKenzie, of an ancient Scotch family; and three sons, — John, Henry, and William. John Tyler, the eldest son, married Anne, daughter of Dr. Louis Contesse, a Huguenot refugee from religious persecution, and a skilled physician; was marshal, for a series of years, of the Vice Admiralty court of the Colony, and died August 26, 1773, at his ancestral home in James City County, leaving issue as follows: —

1. Mary.

2. Elizabeth, born January 30, 1744; died July 23, 1784; married John Greenhow, a merchant of Williamsburg, Virginia, and a native of Staunton, County West-

moreland, England. They have representatives in the present generation in Richmond, and elsewhere.

3. Rachel married first, William Drummond of "Porto Bello," York river, by tradition of the family of William Drummond, a native of Scotland, who was sometime governor of the Province of North Carolina, and was executed for participancy in the popular uprising known as "Bacon's Rebellion." William Drummond having died, his widow, in 1774, sold "Porto Bello" to Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia; and it was thereafter, during his stay in the Colony, one of his residences. Mrs. Drummond held terms of affectionate familiarity with the females of the family of the Governor. After the death of her husband, she for some years kept house for her brother John Tyler at "Indian Fields," Charles City County; and subsequently married, secondly, Stith Hardyman, of "Rural Shades," an adjoining estate.

4. Anne Contesse, married Dr. Anthony Tucker Dixon, who served as surgeon of Virginia troops in the Revolutionary War; survived her husband, and dying without issue, left her estate to her niece Christianna, the youngest sister of President Zachary Taylor.

5. Joanna married Major Wood Bouldin of Charlotte County, Virginia, and died at an "age exceeding 95 years." Of their issue was Thomas Tyler Bouldin, M. C., who was stricken with death on the floor of the House of Representatives in 1834, whilst announcing the death of his colleague, John Randolph of Roanoke. Judge Wood Bouldin, late of the State Court of Appeals of Virginia, was his son. Thomas T. Bouldin was succeeded in Congress by his brother James. Powhatan Bouldin, of Danville, Virginia, author of Home Reminiscences of John Randolph of Roanoke, is a son of the last named.

6. Louis Contesse died without issue, in Charlotte County, Virginia.

7. John.

The last named, the order of whose birth it is conjectured has not been correctly reported, was born in James City County, February 28, 1747; entered the grammar school of William and Mary College, in the eighth year of his age, and was graduated in due course. He then studied law for five years in Williamsburg, in the office of Robert Carter Nicholas, some time treasurer of Virginia. Thomas Jefferson, four years the senior of Tyler, was a student there at the same time in the office of George Wythe. Alike devoted to popular rights, and both lovers of the inspiriting violin, as many eminent Virginians have been, there was early cemented between these ardent youths, a friendship which endured with their lives. Together they tested their musical skill, to the discomfiture of the future author of the Declaration of Independence, who is said to have so envied the "bow arm" of young Tyler as to declare that, were that arm his own, he would yield to no man living in the excellence of his performance. Together they listened to Patrick Henry, the "forest-born Demosthenes," in his famous philippic against George III, and with like enkindling emotions.

So earnestly were the sympathies of young Tyler enlisted in the cause of colonial rights, and so outspoken were his sentiments, that they led him into contentions with his father, to whose loyal sensibilities such utterances were all but impious. The father's remonstrances being futile, he would dubiously shake his head, and deprecatingly say to his rebellious son: "Ah, John! they will hang you yet! they will hang you yet!" Mr. Tyler, having been duly licensed, for a time practised his profession in James City County, but, in 1772, he removed to Charles City, which he probably thought offered a less crowded field in the law to a young aspirant; but there was another reason amply alluring. In a manuscript volume of poetical essays by him, still extant, there are some lines, dated

1774, in which the charms of a daughter of the "County of Presidents" are glowingly portrayed. This lady, Mary, daughter of Robert Armistead, in 1776, at the age of sixteen, became at "Weyanoke," James River, the seat of Colonel Samuel Harwood, the wife of John Tyler. She died April, 1797, aged thirty-seven years. The mother of Mrs. Tyler was the daughter of Colonel Samuel Shield, a worthy representative of a family of sterling virtues. Robert Armistead was of a family highly esteemed in Virginia, and continuously prominent in its affairs. His progenitor was William Armistead, by tradition a descendant in remove of several generations of one D'Armstadt, who emigrated from Hesse and settled in England. William Armistead migrated to Virginia with his wife Anne, and settled upon a tract of four hundred and fifty acres of land in Elizabeth City County, which was granted him July 7, 1637. There are two branches of the descendants of William Armistead in Virginia, — those of Hesse in Matthews County, and of Buck Row, in Elizabeth City County. From the last sprung Robert Armistead of the text.

At a meeting of the freeholders of Charles City County, held December 17, 1774, Benjamin Harrison was appointed chairman of a committee consisting of John Tyler, William Acrill, Francis Eppes, Samuel Harwood, David Minge, John Edloe, and some others, who were charged with the duty of looking to the observance of the regulations of an association which had been recommended to Congress, to prevent the use of merchandise shipped from Great Britain and Ireland to the Colonies. The march, in April, 1775, of Patrick Henry at the head of a company, to recover the powder removed by Dunmore from the magazine at Williamsburg, kindled the martial spirit of the Virginians to fiercest heat. They were everywhere eager to rush to the standard of Henry. Tyler at the head of a company from Charles

City County, was among the first to thus organize; but the ready indemnity offered Henry by the terrified Dunmore debarred Tyler the opportunity of immediate service. On the eleventh of September following, deputies from the district in which the County of Charles City was included assembled at Williamsburg to take into consideration the military needs of the period. A battalion was resolved on, with the following officers: colonel, Champion Travis; lieutenant-colonel, Hugh Nelson; major, Samuel Harwood; and of one of two companies to be furnished by Charles City County, John Tyler was made captain. But the abilities of Mr. Tyler were needed in another sphere. He was appointed by the Virginia convention, July 5, 1776, one of the judges of the High Court of Admiralty. In the spring of 1778, he was called by the voice of Charles City County, to represent it in the house of Delegates of Virginia, of which body he was speaker from 1781 to 1786. Here, also, he moved, and secured the passage of the bill which convened the momentous assembly, at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1786; which, not having a quorum from the several States, adjourned to meet at Philadelphia the year following, and there framed the Federal Constitution. In the year 1780, Mr. Tyler was appointed a member of the Council of State of Virginia. Throughout the Revolution he devoted himself unceasingly and untiringly to its success. A bold, free, and eloquent speaker, his voice was never silent when it could avail aught in behalf of the grand cause in which he was enlisted.

In 1786 he was again appointed a judge of the Court of Admiralty, and was thus a member of the first Court of Appeals of the State. He was appointed a judge of the General Court in 1788, and served in this capacity until December 1, 1808, when he was elected Governor of Virginia. From the last-named station he was called by the appointment of President Madison to the judgeship of the District Court of the United States for Virginia; which office he held until his death at his seat, "Greenway," in Charles City County, January 6, 1813, the period of the second war with Great Britain. As a judge, the first prize case, the capture of the privateer Globe, was passed upon by him. Prostrated by sickness soon after, a repeated utterance on the fatal bed, exemplifying his ardor as an American and a patriot, is memorable. "My only regret," he would gather strength in his debility to say, "is, that I cannot live long enough to see that proud English nation once more humbled by American arms." The County of Tyler, formed in 1814 from Ohio County, Virginia, commemorates the name of Governor Tyler. A portrait of him is among those of the state governors in the Capitol at Richmond.

The issue of Mr. John Tyler was as follows: —

1. Anne Contesse, born 1778, died June 12, 1803; the first wife of James Semple, long a judge of the General Court of Virginia, and professor of law in William and Mary College, and a descendant in the seventeenth generation of Robert de Sempill (1247–1285) of Eccleston in Renfrew, Scotland. He married, secondly, Feb. 4, 1805, Joanna Black, daughter of Dr. William McKenzie. She died July, 1824.

2. Elizabeth Armistead, born 1780; died 1824; married John Clayton Pryor, of Gloucester County.

3. Martha Jefferson, born 1782; died 1855; married Thomas Ennols Waggaman of Louisiana, a brother of George A. Waggaman, United States Senator, 1831–1835.

4. Maria Henry, born 1785; died 1803; married John Boswell Seawell, of Gloucester County, Virginia.

5. Wat Henry, — named by his father after Wat Tyler and Patrick Henry, "the two greatest rebels," said the father, "in English history," — born 1788; died 1862; a skilled and popular physician of Hanover County, Virginia; married twice: first, Miss Elizabeth Walker;

secondly, Margaret, daughter of Archibald Govan, of "Powhite," Hanover County.

6. John, tenth president of the United States.

7. William, born 1793; a soldier of the War of 1812; Member of House of Delegates of Virginia in 1828; died 1856; married, and left issue.

8. Christianna Booth, born 1797; died 1842; married 1813, Dr. Henry Curtis, an accomplished and successful physician and surgeon, of "Puccoon," Hanover County, Virginia, who was of the same lineage as the distinguished New England family of the name, deriving from Sir Henry Curtis of England.

Of the above issue, John Tyler, the subject of this memoir, was born at "Greenway," Charles City County, Virginia, March 29, 1790. As a mere child he was of an unusually studious habit, and early exhibited a passion for books, particularly for works of history.

Entering William and Mary College as a student, at the age of twelve years, he soon attracted the notice of Bishop James Madison, the venerable president of that institution; and during his entire collegiate course young Tyler was, in an especial degree, a favorite of that distinguished scholar and prelate. Generous in his disposition, with pleasing and conciliating manners, and an open, frank, and hearty spirit; these characteristics by which he was distinguished through life, and which were so largely conducive to his public success, then endeared the lad to his fellow-students, and he was not more their favorite than he was of his teacher. Having completed the prescribed courses of the college, he was graduated at the age of seventeen, and delivered on the occasion an address on Female Education, which was pronounced by the Faculty of the college as singularly creditable for one of his years.

Tyler now devoted himself to the study of law, which he had already commenced during his collegiate course, and passed two succeeding years in reading, first with his father, and latterly with Edmund Randolph, a former governor of Virginia, and one of the most eminent lawyers in the State. Aided by the counsels of two such preceptors, his progress in this, as in his previous studies, was very rapid. At the age of nineteen he appeared at the Bar of his native county as a practising lawyer, a certificate having been given him without inquiry as to his having attained the prerequisite years of manhood. Such was his speedy success, that it is said that ere three months had elapsed there was scarce a contested case on the docket of the court in which he was not retained. At the age of twenty he was offered a nomination as the delegate from Charles City County to the State Assembly; but he declined the proffered honor until the following year, when, having attained his majority a short time before the election was held, he was chosen almost unanimously a member of the House of Delegates. He took his seat in that body in December, 1811.

The breaking out of the war with Great Britain, with its incidental exciting measures, and the public solicitude involved, afforded a fine scope for the improvement of his oratorical powers. Like the brilliant Charles James Fox, he spoke often with the view of increasing them, and was encouraged by the attention which his speeches commanded. About this period Messrs. Giles and Brent, then senators from Virginia, disobeying an instruction from the State Assembly to vote against the chartering of a United States Bank, Mr. Tyler introduced in the House of Delegates a resolution of censure, animadverting seriously upon the course of those senators, and laying it down as a principle to be adhered to undeviatingly thereafter, that any person accepting the office of United States Senator from Virginia tacitly bound himself to obey, during the period of his service, the instructions he might receive from its Legislature. Later in his public life he consistently exhibited his adherence to a principle thus early inculcated, in resigning his seat in the United States Senate, rather than record a vote alike repugnant to his judgment and to his sense of conscientious duty. Mr. Tyler continued a member of the Legislature, by re-election, for five years successively. His popularity in his native county is instanced in the fact that on one occasion during this period, when seven candidates offered themselves, Mr. Tyler received all the votes polled in the county but five. Some years later, when a candidate for Congress, of the two hundred votes given in the same county, he received, with a strong and distinguished competitor, all but one. He zealously supported the administration during the war, and raised a volunteer company when the city of Richmond was threatened; but his command was not brought into action. During the session of 1815–1816, whilst still a member of the House of Delegates, Mr. Tyler was elected a member of the Executive Council of the State, and acted in this capacity until November, 1816, when he was elected to fill a vacancy in the representation in Congress from the Richmond district, occasioned by the death of the Hon. John Clopton, and took his seat in the month following. In the debate in this body on the rate of compensation to be allowed its members, and in which Calhoun, John Randolph, Grosvenor, Henry Clay, Southard, and other prominent statesmen participated, Mr. Tyler eloquently replied to Mr. Calhoun, advocating a return to the former *per diem* rate of six dollars, and consistently maintaining his early enunciated principles of the rights of constituents and the duty of their representatives. Said he: —

> You have no robes of office here to bestow, no stars or garters to confer; but the proudest title we can boast, and the only one worthy of being boasted of, is that which is to be read in the

applause of our contemporaries, and the gratitude of posterity. . . . If a member of this body is not a representative of the people, what is he? and if he is, how can he be regarded as representing the people, when he speaks not their language but his own? He ceases to be their representative when he does so, and represents himself alone. Is the creature to set himself in opposition to his creator? Is the servant to disobey the wishes of his master? From the very meaning of the word representative, the obligation to obey instructions results. The Federal Constitution was submitted to conventions of the different States for adoption. Suppose the people had instructed their representatives in convention to reject the Constitution, and their instructions had been disobeyed, would this be called a government of the people adopted by their choice? . . . . The gentleman from South Carolina mentioned the name of Edmund Burke. I venerate the talents of that distinguished orator as highly as any man; and I hold in high respect the memory and virtues of the illustrious Chatham; but highly as I esteem the memories of those great statesmen, they will suffer no disparagement by a comparison with the immortal Sidney. I prefer to draw my principles from the father of the Church, from the man who fell a martyr in the cause of freedom, who consecrated his principles by his blood, from the fountain from which has flowed the principles of the very Constitution under which we act.

Mr. Tyler also, in the same session ably opposed the resolution introduced by Mr. Pickens of North Carolina, proposing an amendment to the Constitution, which provided for the establishment of a uniform mode of electing representatives in Congress, and electors of President and Vice President throughout the United States, by the division of the several States into districts for those purposes. After much discussion the resolution was laid on the table near the end of the session, not again to be revived. In the fifteenth Congress Mr. Tyler voted against the proposition offered by Mr. Clay for a minister to the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, holding that it would be a virtual acknowledgment by the United States of their independence. He also opposed all internal improvements by the general government, and the re-charter of the United States Bank, which he held to be unconstitutional. In the lengthy debates on the resolutions censuring General Jackson for his arbitrary course in the Seminole War, in the execution of the prisoners Arbuthnot and Ambrister, Mr. Tyler warmly participated, urging the adoption of the resolutions; but they were finally negatived.

In the sixteenth Congress he supported the prominent measures: — a revision of the tariff for protection, and the Missouri Compromise; the latter upon the ground that it restricted the diffusion of slaves, which he held to be the surest means towards their ultimate emancipation. Mr. Tyler, by re-election, continued to serve in Congress until near the close of the term of 1821, when ill-health necessitated his resignation, and he retired to his farm, "Sherwood Forest," in Charles City County, possessing the respect of each of the great political parties. He did not long remain in private life. In 1823 he was again elected a member of the Virginia Legislature, and took a leading part in all matters of public utility which occupied that body, — many of the most beneficial of the internal improvements of the State being the result of his zealous and untiring labors. In 1825 he was elected by the General Assembly, governor of Virginia, succeeding James Pleasants, Jr., on the first of December. He was reelected the following year by a unanimous vote; but being elected, January 18, 1827, to succeed John Randolph in the United States Senate, he resigned the office of governor on the fourth of March of that year, and was succeeded by William Branch Giles.

The claims of the soldiers of the Revolution had constantly been maintained by Mr. Tyler; and during his service in Congress he had strenuously resisted every effort to reduce the pittances which had been provided for them by the nation. In a communication to the General Assembly of Virginia, whilst governor, he insisted that the claims of the Revolutionary patriots of the Virginia State line, which had, with flagrant injustice, been discriminated against, should be pressed upon the general government. He urges that —

> The claims of our soldiers have ever been listened to with an attentive ear by the constituted authorities of this State, and would long since have been fulfilled to the very letter of promise, but for the magnificent donation made by Virginia to the Federal Government of all her northern lands. It may be confidently asserted that in making that cession this Commonwealth never intended that the claims of any part of her hardy veterans should in any manner have remained unprovided for. The fact of the omission of all mention of her troops on State establishment, in the compacts entered into by her with the Government of the United States, must have been an omission resulting purely from accident. . . . The fact is, that the Virginia troops on State establishment are as much entitled to the liberality of Congress as those who served on Continental establishment. Those of the State line who were entitled to land bounty, enlisted for a period of not less than three years, and were found fighting by the side of the Continental troops, from one extremity of the Confederacy to the other. Their services in the achievement of our independence equally entitle them to the nation's gratitude. Why, then, should not Congress interfere in their behalf? While we present to the National Government an occasion for the exercise of its liberality, we present also a claim sanctioned by every principle of justice; and we might reasonably indulge the anticipation that our application would be listened to with attention and crowned with success.

Mr. Tyler also strenuously recommended to the Assembly the organization of a system for the general instruction of the masses of the people. The year 1826 was marked by events which threw the whole American nation into mourning, — the death of Thomas Jefferson and of John Adams. That two of the three survivors of the signers of the Declaration of Independence should breathe their last upon the same day, and that day the anniversary of the promulgation of that grand instrument, was a remarkable coincidence. Mr. Jefferson died at Monticello just fifty years after the Declaration, at the very hour of the day, it is said, at which the immortal work of his hands was read in the Congress of the United States. On the receipt of the intelligence at Richmond, Governor Tyler was requested to deliver a commemorative address; and accordingly, on the eleventh of July, after scarce three days of preparation, he pronounced at the capitol square in Richmond, a funeral oration, profoundly touching in its beauty, and eloquently impressive.

Mr. Tyler took his seat in the United States Senate in December, 1827. In that body he voted against the tariff bill of 1828, and was a firm supporter of General Jackson on his accession to the presidency; but withal maintained independence of action. He was frank in the avowal of his opinions, which were sometimes at variance with those of the President. Whilst thus efficiently representing Virginia in the supreme council of the nation, he was elected a member of the important and illustriously composed State constitutional convention of 1829–1830. During the session of 1831–1832, he ardently opposed the recharter of the United States Bank, maintaining, as on a previous occasion, that it was an unconstitutional measure. He also voted against the tariff bill of 1832; but in the course of a speech in the Senate he enunciated the principles of concession upon which, and at his instance, it is claimed, Mr. Clay, in 1833, based his famous compromise bill. Mr. Tyler, in a speech of much eloquence, whilst disclaiming the doctrine of nullification, denounced the employment of force as recommended by President Jackson, and withdrew his support from him. When the movement was made in the Virginia Assembly, in 1832, for the emancipation of slaves, William H. Brodnax, John Randolph of Roanoke, John Marshall, Philip A. Bolling, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, James McDowell, and William H. Roane being among its prominent supporters, Mr. Tyler, then a member of the Senate committee on the District of Columbia, drew with his own hand, and inserted in the code prepared for the district, but which was not acted on, a bill providing for the abolition of slavery in the district, thus anticipating by eighteen years a similar provision inserted in the compromise of 1850. In 1833, he was re-elected to the Senate for six years, and opposed the removal of the government deposits from the United States Bank. His independent course separated him from the President's friends in Virginia, who subsequently supported Mr. Van Buren.

In 1836 the Legislature of Virginia instructed its senators, Mr. Tyler and Benjamin Watkins Leigh, to vote for expunging from the journals of the Senate the resolution of Mr. Clay, censuring President Jackson for his assumption of unjustifiable authority in removing the bank deposits. As Mr. Tyler approved of the resolution, and believed the proposition to expunge to be in violation of the Constitution, he could not conscientiously obey the instructions, and, true to his avowed principles, he resigned his seat on the tenth of February, and was succeeded by William Cabell Rives.

His colleague, Mr. Leigh, however, refused to obey the will of the Legislature, and held his seat; and though locally lauded and complimented, with Mr. Tyler, by the Whigs of Richmond, his residence, with a public dinner, yet his course, in the sequel, was proved to be an injudicious one, when weighed in the scale of his public interests; for, notwithstanding his pure character and great intellect, his error was irremediable. He was henceforth barred from political preferment. In the spring of 1838 Mr. Tyler was elected by the Whigs of James City County to the Virginia Assembly; and in 1839 he was elected a member of the Whig convention that met at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to nominate a candidate for president of the United States. He was chosen vice-president of the convention, and warmly supported Mr. Clay for the nomination. The choice of the convention, however, was General William H. Harrison for president and John Tyler for vice-president; and in 1840 they were both elected, and on the fourth of March, 1841, were inaugurated; but the former dying April 4, after an administration of only one month, Mr. Tyler, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, became president of the United States. He retained the members of cabinet appointed by his predecessor, and proceeded to check, so far as he could consistently with the previous commitments of Harrison, the removal of the supporters of Van Buren's administration.

In the Congress of 1840 no decision had been made relative to a fiscal agent for the receipt and disbursement of the public moneys. The question of a national bank continued to be agitated. President Tyler, in his first message, while reserving to himself in express terms the power to veto any measure which would contravene the Constitution, recommended the repeal of the sub-treasury law, and the substitution of a new fiscal agent. He had always denied that Congress possessed any vested authority of national incorporation operating *per se* over the constitution of the Union. In private conversation with Clay and other prominent Whigs, before the meeting of Congress, he had urged a scheme which would not involve his constitutional objections. This they rejected, and Mr. Clay again proposed essentially, instead, the establishment of the old United States Bank. The President vetoed this bill, as he did another, in alleged accordance with his suggestion for a fiscal agent, which was offered for his approval. The sub-treasury law in the mean time had been repealed; great excitement prevailed, and all of Mr. Tyler's cabinet, with the exception of Daniel Webster, resigned, and a simultaneous assault was made upon him by the press and orators of the Whig party throughout the country. He, however, remained firm, and immediately filled his cabinet with eminent states-rights Whigs, and conservatives. The most important acts of the long session — two hundred and sixty-nine days — of 1841–1842 were a new tariff law, with incidental protection; an act establishing a uniform bankrupt law; and an apportionment of representatives according to the census of 1840. The momentous treaty with Great Britain, settling the north-eastern boundary of the United States, was ratified at Washington on the twenty-eighth of August, 1842. The provision in its eighth article concerning the African squadron for the protection of American commerce, and the prevention of the slave trade on the coast of Africa, was the suggestion of Mr. Tyler. In May, 1843, the President appointed Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, a commissioner to the government of China. On the twelfth of April, 1844, a treaty was concluded at Washington, providing for the annexation of Texas to the United States; but, on the eighth of June, it was rejected by the Senate. On the twenty-fifth of January, 1845, a joint resolution for annexing Texas was adopted in the House of Representatives, by a vote of one hundred and twenty to ninety-eight; and the same was adopted in the Senate, on the first of March, by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-five; and the same day it was approved by the President. Thus, two days before the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Tyler had the satisfaction of witnessing the consummation of an act which he had long earnestly desired and persistently striven for. The terms proposed were ratified on the fourth of July following, by a constitutional convention assembled at Austin, and Texas was admitted into the Union.

Upon the expiration of his presidential term, Mr. Tyler returned to private life upon his farm in Virginia. In the Democratic convention which assembled at Baltimore, Maryland, on the thirteenth of August, 1844, to nominate candidates for president and vice-president, Mr. Tyler was the choice of a large following for the presidency, and it was thought that his friends held the balance of power in several States. Mr. Van Buren, also a candidate, was so objectionable to many of the Democratic party that it was urged that, between him and the candidate of the Whig party, they would prefer Mr. Clay. The friends of Mr. Tyler, to secure the defeat of Mr. Van Buren, and the nomination of a candidate in sympathy with the policy and measures of the administration of Mr. Tyler, notably the annexation of Texas, resolved upon the two-thirds rule; and under its application Mr. Van Buren was discarded, and, Mr. Tyler withdrawing, James Knox Polk was nominated and subsequently elected to succeed Mr. Tyler.

During a long period of relief from the strife and anxieties of political life, which Mr. Tyler passed unobtrusively upon his estate in Virginia, there was an episode not the least creditable in his honorable career, and which was highly characteristic, in its marked exemplification of his sense of duty as a citizen. It 1847 he was designated by the justices of Charles City County, for an essential but humbly named duty, and to which in common with other citizens he was liable. It was at the instance, it is said, of those who wished to inflict a mortification by conferring in derision upon an ex-president of the United States the humble position of an overseer of the public road. Mr. Tyler promptly accepted the appointment, and was no less decided in the execution of the trust, — it being emphatically declared without a dissenting voice, that "he was the best overseer of the roads that Charles City ever had."

Mr. Tyler was twice most happily married: first, March 29, 1813, to Letitia, the third daughter of Robert Christian of Cedar Grove, now Kent County, long a member of the Virginia Assembly, and a member of a family which has for quite two hundred years been honorably and usefully represented in the judiciary of Virginia, and in various local trusts. The late curiously erudite Dr. John R. Christian of Holly Springs, Mississippi, traced the origin of the Christian family to Scotland, where, prior to the sixteenth century, the name was rendered MacChristian. They were established in Wigtonshire, Scotland, until the year 1422, after which they figured in the Isle of Man, only a few miles distant. The name is historic. John Christian, of Undrigg Castle, married Isabella, daughter of Henry, Lord Percy, the famous Earl of Northumberland. William MacChristian, of Albdale and Milntown, parish of Lezayre, was a member of the House of Keys in the Isle of Man, in 1422. Evan Christian, born in 1579, was appointed deemster or judge of the Isle of Man, at the age of twenty-six, and held the office for forty-eight years. Gilbert Christian married in 1720, and removed from Scotland to Ireland. Several of the name migrated to America, and founded families in Pennsylvania, the valley of Virginia, and in Tennessee. But the family was much earlier seated in Eastern Virginia. Thomas Christian patented lands in James City County in 1667, and was granted, October 26, 1687, ten hundred and eighty acres in Charles City County. Mrs. Letitia (Christian) Tyler died at Washington, September 10, 1842. Her virtues are gracefully recorded by Miss Holloway, in The Ladies of the White House.

The second marriage of Mr. Tyler is invested with touching interest, and was the romantic sequel of a tragic occurrence which profoundly moved the sympathies of the American nation. The powerful armament of the United States steamship Princeton claimed the attention of the Secretary of the Navy, and by the invitation of her builder and commander, Captain Stockton, on the twenty-eighth of February, 1844, a large party of distinguished persons, accompanied by ladies, were present on board during an excursion on the Potomac to witness the trial of the ship's powers. The day was charmingly bright and pleasant, and the occasion one of rare social gratification, when, with the closing scene and the setting sun, a terrible accident spread disaster around. One of the largest guns, on being fired for the third time, whilst the frigate was opposite Mount Vernon, burst, and the explosion killed instantly the Secretary of the Navy, Thomas Walker Gilmer; the Secretary of State, Abel Parker Upshur; Commodore Beverley Kennon, chief of one of the naval bureaus; Virgil Maxcy, the recent *chargé d'affaires* to Belgium; the Hon. David Gardiner — who was accompanied by his lovely and accomplished daughter, — and three domestics, besides wounding twelve of the crew. The tender and soothing attentions of the President, who was present, to Miss Gardiner in her bereavement sensibly touched her heart. A sympathetic bond was established, and the happy sequence was the marital union of John Tyler and Julia Gardiner on the twenty-sixth of June following.

The father of Mrs. Tyler, the Hon. David Gardiner, born May 2, 1784, a graduate of Yale College, for a time New York State Senator, was a descendant in the ninth generation from Lion Gardiner, a native of England, a soldier and engineer by profession, who joined the camp of the Prince of Orange, in the Netherlands, as master of works of fortifications, and who was stationed at Fort Orange, near the city of Woerden. Accompanied by his wife, Mary Wilemson — a native of Woerden, who died in 1665 — he came as engineer with the colonists who embarked from London, July 10, 1635, and who, settling on the banks of the Connecticut River, under the patent granted in 1631, by Charles I. to William, Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, and others, formed the germ of the colony of Connecticut. Lion Gardiner acted as lieutenant or deputy of the patentees, and commanded from 1635 to 1639, the fort built at Saybrook, named in honor of Lords Say and Brooke, and which was of great benefit in defending the colony from the attacks of the savages. Securing the friendship of Wyandanch, sachem of the Montauketts, through intelligence received from him, Lion Gardiner was the instrument of saving the infant colony of Connecticut from threatened massacre, which had been plotted by the Pequots, the Narragansetts, and other tribes. Lion Gardiner also obtained by purchase from the chieftain Wyandanch, various extensive tracts of valuable land; among others that in New York known as Gardiner's Island, comprising twenty-four hundred acres of arable land, besides nine hundred acres of ponds and sand beaches. It was conveyed March 10, 1649, and is in possession of the descendants of Lion Gardiner to the present day. He died in 1663. John Gardiner, the grandson of Lion Gardiner, received from Governor Dongan the last patent of Gardiner's Island, creating it into a lordship and manor, and was proprietor when Kidd, the pirate, is said to have buried his treasures upon it. He was killed by a fall from his horse, while on a visit to Groton, Connecticut, June 25, 1738, aged seventy-eight. The mother of Mrs. Tyler was Juliana, born February 8, 1799, daughter of Michael McLachlan of the Highland clan of McLachlan, in Scotland. His father fell in the Rebellion of 1745, when the son migrated to the Island of Jamaica, and thence to the city of New York. The Gardiner family, in its intermarriages, includes, among other well-known names, those of Conkling, Howell, Coit, Gray, Green, Chandler, Lathrop, Mulford, Avery, Buel, Griswold, Thompson, Huntington, Dering, Dayton, Van Wyck, Lee, Davis, L'Hommedieu and Bancroft, — Hannah, great-granddaughter of Lion Gardiner, and the wife of John Chandler of Worcester, Massachusetts, being the grandmother of George Bancroft, the historian. Mrs. Tyler, with her younger children, resides at present in Richmond, Virginia.

The issue of President Tyler by his first marriage was: —

1. Mary, married Henry L. Jones.

2. Robert, died June 23, 1877; signer of patents; prothonotary of the Superior Court of Pennsylvania; president of the Repeal Association, of which William H. Seward was vice-president; register of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America; editor of the Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser, and a Centennial Commissioner in 1876; married Priscilla, daughter of the distinguished tragedian, Thomas A. Cooper. Their accomplished daughter, Mrs. Priscilla Goodwyn, inherits the histrionic genius of her maternal grandfather.

3. John, private secretary of his father while President; major in the Confederate States Army, and a brilliant and vigorous writer.

4. Letitia, married James Semple of the United States Navy, and chief of parole of the Confederate States Army.

5. Elizabeth, married William Waller, and had issue, among others: John Tyler, a gallant, but rash young officer successively of the Confederate Navy and Army, who was killed in battle; and William Griffin, assistant editor of the Savannah News, — married, first, Jeannie Howell, the sister of the second wife of Jefferson Davis; and, secondly, Bessie Austin.

6. Alice, married the Rev. H. M. Dennison. Their daughter Bessie is an artist of ability, a fact meritoriously exemplified in the portrait of her ancestor, Governor Tyler, in the State Library at Richmond.

7. Tazewell, surgeon Confederate States Army, lately deceased; married Anne Bridges of New Kent County, Virginia.

The issue of the second marriage of President Tyler was: —

8. David Gardiner, a lawyer, residing at the paternal seat, "Sherwood Forest."

9. John Alexander, civil engineer; a gallant soldier in the Prussian Army in the Franco-Prussian War, and in the Confederate Army. For merit in the first service, he was invested, by the hand of Kaiser William himself, with a medal and ribbon; died September 2, 1883, at Santa Fé, New Mexico.

10. Julia, married William H. Spencer of New York; died in 1871.

11. Lachlan, M.D., residing in Washington, D. C.

12. Lyon Gardiner, a member of the Richmond Bar; late Professor of Modern Languages in William and Mary College; has in preparation The Letters and Times of the Tylers (his father and grandfather), 2 vols. 8vo; married Anne Baker, daughter of St. George Tucker, Colonel of Cavalry, Confederate States Army; author of Hansford: A Tale of Bacon's Rebellion; son of Henry St. George Tucker, and grandson of St. George Tucker, and his wife Frances, daughter of Richard Bland, and who was the widow of John Randolph and the mother of John Randolph of Roanoke.

13. Fitz-Walter.

14. Pearl, married, November 13, 1884, William Munford Ellis.

President Tyler, surrounded by his interesting family, enjoyed the peaceful quiet of private life for a long series of years, broken alone by generous and inspiring services as an orator on special occasions, and to which his grace and ability as a speaker subjected him, until the stirring events of 1861 called him forth from his retirement. He was a member of, and presided with great dignity over, the earnest and momentous deliberations of the Peace Conference, which was proposed by the Virginia Assembly at his suggestion, and which met in Willard's Hall, at Washington, D. C., February 4, 1861. He was also a member of the first Confederate States Congress; and while in attendance on that body, died at Richmond, Virginia, January 17, 1862, and was buried in the adjacent beautiful and picturesque Hollywood Cemetery.

President Tyler was an honorary member of the Virginia Historical Society, and he accepted a like membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, December 19, 1859. Doubtless he was the recipient of similar honors from other bodies. The College of William and Mary, of which he was chancellor from 1859 to 1862, conferred on him in 1854 the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

The key to the popularity of Mr. Tyler was doubtless the earnestness of purpose, the innate generosity, the winning sympathy, and the inspiring cordiality, which were manifest in his entire presence. These qualities, with his ready adaptation to circumstances, and assimilation with the tastes of every circle or auditory, gave him the power which is termed personal magnetism.

The literary efforts of President Tyler evince endowments of a high order, and the devotion and enthusiasm of the scholar. "To purity of taste, elegance of diction, and strength of reasoning, he superadds the ornaments of a lively fancy and a copious command of impressive and striking images." His literary addresses, so far as known to the writer, are as follows: —

1. Eulogy on the death of Jefferson, Richmond, July 11, 1826.

2. Address at Randolph-Macon College before the two Literary Societies, June 19, 1838.

3. Address on taking the chair as President of the African Colonization Society, as the successor of John Marshall. African Repository, April, 1838, p. 17.

4. Address at the Agricultural Fair at Rochester, N. Y., in 1849.

5. An Address before the Literary Societies of the University of Virginia, on the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the State of Virginia, June 29, 1850, Charlottesville.

6. Lecture delivered before the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts, March 20, 1855: Subject, The Prominent Characters and Incidents of Our History from 1812 to 1836. Baltimore, 1855.

7. Address at Petersburg, Virginia: Subject, The Dead of the Cabinet. 1856. Southern Literary Messenger.

8. Address, May 13, 1857, the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Landing at Jamestown. Southern Literary Messenger.

9. Address at the Mechanics' Institute, Richmond, Virginia, November 4, 1858. Dispatch, newspaper.

10. The Address delivered by his Excellency John Tyler (and the poem recited by St. George Tucker, Esq.), on the 166th Anniversary of the College of William and Mary. 1859.

11. Remarks at the unveiling at Richmond, Virginia, of Hart's Statue of Henry Clay. Richmond Whig, April 13, 1860.

12. Address as President of the Peace Conference, Washington, February 5, 1861.

13. Speech of Hon. John Tyler, delivered March 13, 1861, in the Virginia State Convention, on the Peace Conference Proposition.

The Life and Speeches of John Tyler, edited by A. S. Abell, was published in New York in 1843.

MATTHEW SCHROPP HENRY

Matthew S. Henry, son of William and Sabina (Schropp) Henry, was born in the village of Nazareth, County of Northampton, Pennsylvania, on the tenth of August, 1790. His father was a native of Lancaster in the same State. His grandfather, William Henry, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry, and both he and his son William pursued the business of manufacturing rifles. The elder William Henry was a member of the Continental Congress in 1785–1786.

Matthew was a pupil at the celebrated Moravian school, Nazareth Hall. After leaving school he was bred to the business of a storekeeper, but afterwards became an iron-master, and the latter business he followed until the year 1835. The furnace and forge which he conducted were located on Bushkill Creek, near the village of Nazareth, Pennsylvania.

For ten years or more before his death Mr. Henry devoted much time to a study of the dialects spoken by the aborigines who, in the early part of the seventeenth century, lived on or near the Atlantic coast, within the territory of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. In the prosecution of these studies he is said to have personally visited many of the localities in the United States and Canada where the survivors of these Indians were then residing. He incorporated the results of his investigations in a dictionary of Indian words and phrases.

This work was never published, but a copy of it is preserved in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

He also prepared for the historical societies of New Jersey and Pennsylvania maps of these States, in which he claimed to have given the Indian names of rivers, places, etc., more completely and more accurately than had previously been done. Of his efforts in this matter, and of the estimation in which his work was regarded, further information may be obtained by consulting the eighth volume of the proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, for the years 1856–1859.

Perhaps, however, Mr. Henry's most considerable and meritorious work was his History of the Lehigh Valley, published in numbers at Easton, Pennsylvania, which was completed in the year 1860. . . .

He was a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and, on May 13, 1861, became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

Mr. Henry was twice married. His first wife was his cousin, Caroline Henry; his second, Esther Berg; and he left issue by both consorts. His death occurred in Philadelphia, on the twentieth of January, 1862.

GEORGE HERRIOT TUCKER

George H. Tucker was born in the city of New York, December 22, 1828. His father, William Tucker, a native of Deal, Monmouth County, New Jersey, was born February 1, 1802, but removed in 1819 to New York where he carried on business as a master mason and builder, and where he held the office of alderman. Here he married, February 10, 1825, Margaret Bogart, daughter of John and Maria (Cole) Bogart. She was descended from the Dutch family of Bogaert, which early settled at Harlaem on Manhattan island. They had ten children, of whom George Herriot was the second.

He was a descendant of Henry[1] Tucker, a member of the Society of Friends, who settled at Dartmouth, Massachusetts, in 1669, but is supposed to have come to New England at an earlier date. Henry Tucker was married to his wife Martha on the ninth of January, 1651, according to a record in an old family Bible; but neither the place of his marriage nor of the births of his six children there recorded is known. Their second son, John,[2] born August 28, 1656, removed to Shrewsbury, New Jersey, where he resided April 25, 1688, when he married Ruth Woolly of that place. A fac-simile of their marriage certificate, signed by themselves and twenty-four witnesses, among whom were George Keith and John Barclay, — the latter supposed to be a brother of Robert Barclay, author of the Apology for the Quakers, — is printed in the Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1880, page 276. They had three children.

James Tucker,[3] the eldest son of John,[2] was born in Shrewsbury, East Jersey, August 27, 1691. Before the year 1700 his parents returned with their family to Dartmouth. In 1716 or 1717 James removed to Shrewsbury, and settled on land which his father purchased while residing there, and which he still retained. There are old deeds and copies of deeds extant, showing that John Tucker made a considerable purchase of land there in 1684, and again in 1692. In 1751, when the father died, he bequeathed his Jersey lands to James. The village of Elberon, where President Garfield died, is said to be located on these lands. His son Samuel,[4] born at Deal, in the township of Shrewsbury, October 8, 1735, was a farmer in that place, who during the Revolutionary War suffered severe losses by depredations on his crops and cattle. Though refusing from conscientious motives to bear arms, he gave freely of his money to maintain the liberty of his country. He married, January 22, 1761, Elizabeth, daughter of Brittain and Dinah White. Their son Brittain,[5] a trader and farmer at Deal, was the father of William,[6] and the grandfather of the subject of this notice.

George Herriot Tucker obtained his earliest education at the "Mechanics' Society School" in New York, and pursued his classical studies under the guidance of Prof. Lowmounowski. He studied medicine in New York with Lewis A. Sayre, M.D., and also at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, where he was graduated March, 1851, receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He commenced practice as a physician in his native city. Though devoting himself zealously to the duties of his profession, in which he obtained a high standing, he found time for literary work. The collecting of medical and historical statistics, for which he showed aptitude and zeal, was a ruling passion with him. Under the auspices of the United States Sanitary Commission, he was appointed chief of a bureau at Washington for obtaining information as to the inmates of the various military hospitals. For this position he was well qualified.

He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, October 8, 1861. He was also a Fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine.

He was much interested in his family history, and in June, 1851, three months after his graduation, published at New York, in an octavo of forty-four pages, A Genealogical and Historical Account of The Descendants of Henry Tucker, collected from various Authentic Sources. He was the projector and editor of the New York Medical Register, published annually. He compiled also a Catalogue of the Alumni, Officers and Fellows of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the City of New York, from A.D. 1807 to A.D. 1859, which was printed at New York, in 1859, in an octavo of sixty-six pages.

Dr. Tucker married, September 14, 1859, Miss Charlotte Anne Courbet de Gray, a native of France. He died in New York, January 25, 1862, aged 33. His wife survived him.

CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON

Cornelius Conway Felton, the eldest son of Cornelius Conway and Anna (Morse) Felton, was born in Newbury, Massachusetts, November 6, 1807. His parents gave their children the heritage of their own superior intelligence and moral worth; but were able to bestow on their higher education little beyond their hearty sympathy and encouragement. While Cornelius was still a child they removed to Saugus, and lived in the near neighborhood of Dr. Cheever, grandfather of the present Professor of Anatomy in Harvard University. The Doctor, finding young Felton a boy of excellent promise, gave him his first lessons in Latin, and furthered his advancement by every means within his power. Felton was fitted for college under the tuition of Simeon Putnam of North Andover, who had high and well-merited reputation as a classical teacher.

He entered Harvard College as a Freshman in 1823. He took at once and maintained through his college course a foremost place in his class; was second to none in the department of Ancient Languages, and manifested the power of rapid acquisition and the scholarly tastes that distinguished him through life. At the same time he won the cordial friendship of all who were brought into intimate relations with him; and they were such friends as he was glad to hold ever afterward in the dearest regard. No one can have ever passed through the ordeal of student-life with a character more transparently pure. Temptation, indeed, had for him no meaning. He loved society, but only the best; and his own influence was from the first refining and elevating. He had an elastic spirit, and bore the burdens of his early life easily and cheerily; yet they must have been heavy. He was dependent mainly on his own industry, with the very slender aid then given by the college to meritorious students; and he worked in the Library in vacations, taught school, and resorted to every honorable means for replenishing his scanty resources, all the while practising a more rigid economy than would seem credible to a student of the present day.

Immediately on graduating he went to Geneseo, New York, with two of his classmates, to take charge of an Academy founded by Mr. James Wadsworth, well-known as a munificent patron of learning. He remained there two years, and then returned to Cambridge as a tutor in Latin. In 1830 he was appointed tutor in Greek; in 1832, College Professor of Greek; and in 1834, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature. He had in these successive offices the occupation most congenial with his taste, and one for which no man could have been more eminently fitted by the cast of his mind, the direction of his studies, and his enthusiastic love of the literature of which he was the teacher and expositor. He was by no means rigid or exacting in the class-room, and an indifferent scholar was put by him under no compulsory pressure; but those who were ready to learn received from him the most ample aid, and derived from their intercourse with him the strongest stimulus to persevering industry. At the same time his genial disposition and his fellow-feeling with young life, which never waned, made him a favorite teacher with all who came under his charge.

The only important episodes in this period of his life were European tours and sojourns, in 1853 and 1856.

On both these occasions he not only visited Greece, but travelled in the country extensively and with close observation; made himself acquainted with the leading men, especially with those concerned in the revival of letters and the diffusion of knowledge; and became conversant with the institutions and the public life of the kingdom. What a man gains by travel depends mainly on what he carries with him, — on his knowledge of the fit topics for research and inquiry; and probably no American has ever been in Greece, who was more thoroughly versed than he in all that could be known of the past, or better qualified to form an accurate judgment and estimate of the present and the future, of a people so long depressed and down-trodden, yet with so rich a heritage of ancestral fame.

In 1855 Mr. Agassiz established in Cambridge a school for young ladies; and Mr. Felton, though with his full tale of college duties, became a teacher and lecturer in that institution, and contributed very largely to its success and prosperity.

When, on the resignation of Dr. Walker in 1860, the Presidency of Harvard University became vacant, Mr. Felton was elected as his successor; and in their votes the governing Boards simply ratified the unanimous choice of the whole community. In this office it can hardly be said that he met the expectations of his friends; but their disappointment was one of surprise and admiration. He had previously led the quiet life of a scholar, absorbed in books and in literary labor, with few relations of business with the outside world, and with no opportunities for testing his executive ability; and it was anticipated that he would adorn the headship of the college by the rare grace and beauty of his spirit, character, and culture, rather than that he would take upon himself the unnumbered prosaic details of duty and service which then made the Presidency of Harvard College as arduous and as multifarious a charge as could well be devised or imagined. But with an intense feeling of responsibility, as for a most sacred trust, he entered upon a thoroughly energetic administration, giving his personal attention to all concerns that could rightfully come under his cognizance, seeking full knowledge of the work of the teachers, exercising a watchful vigilance over the students, and making himself felt, not merely as a gracious and kindly presence, but as an active and action-compelling force in every department of the University. He even became a strict disciplinarian when it was his duty to be so, though it was manifest that in the infliction of penalty he suffered more than those who deserved and needed it. His labors were rendered more severe and exhausting by the growing discontent with the stereotyped and obsolescent methods of our New England colleges, and the movements toward a broader culture and a higher intellectual life, in which he was in the front rank of the leading minds. With his unresting assiduity, he was oppressed by a painful sense of the vast interests devolved upon his discretion and ability, and by the constant accumulation of demands upon his time and strength, which grew more and more numerous and urgent from his habit of giving heed to every claim and assuming every burden that he was asked to bear.

But his overtasked vigor of body yielded under the incessant strain and tension. Symptoms of heart-disease, which had already given his friends some uneasiness, became more decided and alarming from the time that he exchanged his sedentary habits for a more active life. Early in 1862, during the winter vacation, he was induced to seek relief and recreation by a change of scene and surroundings, and he visited his brother at Thurlow, Pennsylvania. Here his disease advanced rapidly to a fatal issue. After an attack, in which his death was expected from moment to moment, he seemed for a little while convalescent. On the twenty-sixth of February, the first day of the new term, I received a letter from him, dictated when respiration and utterance were intermittent and laborious, telling me that he had been at the point of death, but now began to hope for prolonged life; expressing fervent gratitude to the Divine Providence; and asking me to beg the college Faculty, in the name of the Infinite Love, to be lenient and merciful in certain cases of discipline that had been laid over from the preceding term. That same evening I read the letter to the Faculty, obtained the desired vote, and had hardly reached my home when I received a telegram announcing his death.

Mr. Felton filled a very large and, in some respects, a unique place in our world of letters. It is seldom that an adept in one department is a proficient in all the essential branches of liberal culture. This, however, was true of him. While as a classical scholar he had no superior, he was versed in the languages and familiar with the best literature of modern Europe, was largely conversant with natural science, and had a highly educated and a nicely critical taste in the entire realm of art. The ability that he showed in many and diverse directions, had its scope been narrower, would have been accounted as genius of a very high order; but in its breadth and versatility it was more than genius. Within the largest bounds of a liberal education, no demand was made upon him that found him incapable or unprepared; and whatever he did he did so well that he seemed to have a special adaptation for it.

As a writer he was easy and graceful, brilliant in metaphor, rich and apt in illustration, and, whenever his subject permitted, affluent in wit and humor. He often wrote too rapidly to do himself full justice; but when the occasion required and leisure served, he had at his command a style of finished elegance and beauty.

He was often false to his own reputation in his unstinted kindness to others. No one ever applied to him for aid in literary labor of any sort without receiving all and more than all the assistance desired. He would put aside work of his own that he was anxious to finish, to look up authorities, to furnish working material, to revise manuscripts, to correct proof, for those whose only claim upon him was their need; and of course the report of his generosity was constantly multiplying his would-be beneficiaries. Had he converted to his own use all the time, thought, and study that he contributed to fame in which he had no share, posterity might have admired him more; but his own coevals would have loved him less.

Indeed, those who knew him best feel that no man could have been more lovable than he. He can never have made an enemy, or forgotten or lost a friend. In society he was genial and mirthful, full of anecdote, talking so admirably well that his friends would have been content to be mere listeners, yet never willing to assume more than his due share in conversation. There was a native refinement, an unstudied delicacy in his manners and his social intercourse, indicating an inward life on a high plane, and by unobtrusive example and influence constantly tending to elevate the prevailing tone of sentiment and feeling around him. To those most intimate with him it was impossible that he could be replaced. We have not seen, and may not hope ever to see, his like in this world.

With a temperament that might have seemed pliant and ductile, no man was ever more strongly intrenched than he within the defences of a true, quick, sensitive, and discriminating conscience. No unworthy compliance ever cast a transient shadow even on his early youth. We who knew him from boyhood could recall, when he went from us, not an act or a word which we would wish to forget.

He was firm in the right, and no power on earth could make him swerve from his convictions of duty. His force of character, hidden on ordinary occasions by his gentle, sunny mien, showed itself impregnable when put to the test. He never shrank from the most painful duty; and in prompt decision and fearless energy for difficult emergencies he seemed no less worthy of supreme regard than for those amiable qualities which made his daily life so beautiful.

It can hardly be needful to say that a character like his could have had no other foundation than matured Christian faith and principle. He was unfeignedly reverent and devout. He loved the worship and ordinances of religion, and gave them the support of his constant attendance, his unfailing interest, and his earnest advocacy. He took from Jesus Christ the law of his life, breathed in His spirit, trusted in His gospel of salvation and immortality, and looked to Him for guidance through the death-shadow into the everlasting light.

Mr. Felton's literary activity was incessant; but he seems to have had very little ambition to appear before the public in his own name and on his own sole account. It may be doubted whether he ever published anything except at the solicitation of others; and he was thus often led into partnerships in which his share of the labor far exceeded that of the revenue, whether of fame or of material recompense.

In 1833 he published an edition of the Iliad, with very valuable English notes, and with Flaxman's illustrations.

In 1840 he prepared a Greek Reader, with English notes and a vocabulary. This continued long in use, perhaps is not yet out of use, and is probably to be preferred to any other similar text-book, in the fitness and range of its selections, in the facilities which it furnishes, and in those which it wisely fails to furnish, for the student.

In the same year he contributed to Ripley's Specimens of Foreign Literature a translation of Menzel's work on German Literature, in three volumes.

In 1841 he published an edition of The Clouds of Aristophanes, with an introduction and notes. This has been republished in England.

In 1843 he contributed very largely to a work on Classical Studies, edited by Professors Sears and Edwards; and also to Professor Longfellow's Poets and Poetry of Europe.

In 1844, in connection with Professor Beck, he made a translation of Munk's Metres of the Greeks and Romans.

In 1847 he published editions of the Panegyricus of Isocrates, and of the Agamemnon of Aeschylus, each with introduction and notes.

In 1849 he translated Professor Guyot's work, entitled The Earth and Man. In the same year he issued an edition of The Birds of Aristophanes, with introduction and notes, which was reprinted in England.

In 1852 he published a selection from the writings of his predecessor, Dr. Popkin, with a most happily written memoir. In the same year he issued a volume of selections from the Greek Historians.

In 1856 he published a series of selections from modern Greek writers, in poetry and prose.

He contributed to Sparks's American Biography a Life of General Eaton.

In addition to these works, he published many lectures and addresses. His aid was constantly sought by the editors of various periodicals, to which he was a large contributor. If we remember aright, his earliest writings of this sort were literally labors of love for the American Monthly Review, edited by the late Professor Sidney Willard, a work designed to give a fair and truthful statement and estimate of current American literature, and which had an early death solely because it was too honest to live. He was a frequent contributor to the North American Review and to the Christian Examiner. He wrote for Appleton's New American Cyclopedia several long and elaborate articles, particularly in his own special department.

But the works most characteristic of his mind and heart, of his ability, scholarship, taste, and sentiment, were not designed for publication, and were not issued till after his death, when they appeared under the editorship of the writer of this memoir. They are Familiar Letters from Europe; and Greece, Ancient and Modern. The former was a small volume of letters of travel, written to his family with no ulterior purpose, yet with a fidelity of description, a vividness of comprehension, and a charming spontaneity of graceful diction, that not only needed no revision, but would have suffered damage by any endeavor to improve them. The latter comprises four courses of Lowell Lectures on Greece, in two large octavo volumes. We doubt whether there exists in our language any other work on Greece that comprehends so much, and is at the same time so entirely the outcome of the author's own study, thought, and observation. As the lectures were hastily written, many of them on the eve of delivery, it was thought desirable to verify references and translations; but this labor proved to be almost needless. There was in his manuscript the strange blending of a chirography bearing tokens of hot haste, and a minuteness and accuracy showing that his materials were at his command at momentary notice; though a large portion of them were such as seemed to require elaborate research. There is no reason why these volumes should not live and last, as at once of profound interest to the general reader, and of essential service for the special study of the Greece that was and the Greece that is.

Mr. Felton was an active member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He became an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, October 5, 1860. He was also a member of various literary and scientific bodies, in all of which he bore as large a part as his busy life rendered possible. He was also for several years one of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, and a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education; while he manifested equal efficiency and diligence in the less conspicuous office of a member of the School Committee of Cambridge, where his services are commemorated in a school-house that bears his name. He was a corresponding member of the Archæological Society of Athens. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Amherst College in 1848, and from Yale College in 1860.

Mr. Felton was twice married, — April 12, 1838, to Mary, daughter of Asa and Mary (Hammond) Whitney; and in September, 1846, to Mary Louisa, daughter of Thomas Graves and Mary (Perkins) Cary. He left two sons and three daughters.

WILLIAM MEADE

It is a significant fact that a New England Historical Society should wish, after the lapse of many years, to place Bishop Meade's portrait in its gallery of historical pictures. And yet, when we call to mind the relations between Bishops Griswold and Eastburn and the Bishop of Virginia, and the contributions of the latter to history, nothing could be more fitting and graceful than this tribute. It is in response to this call that this outline of Bishop Meade's life is sketched. The limits prescribed are too small for a rounded biography. To fill up this outline the reader must consult the documents in Bishop Johns's memorial, the journals of Convention, and the historical writings of Dr. Hawks.

The root of the family in America was Andrew Meade, a Roman Catholic, who came to New York late in the seventeenth century, and married Mary Latham, a Quaker of Flushing, — "a heterogeneous kind of union," said David Meade, "less obnoxious to nature than to bigotry." Those who believe in the transmission of hereditary traits by descent may well think that it would be quite in the course of nature for the union of these extremes to issue in that evangelical churchmanship of which Bishop Meade was so pronounced a type. Andrew Meade removed with his wife to Nansemond County, Virginia, where he amassed a handsome fortune, and built a fine house with an avenue of trees leading to the church at Suffolk. He became a vestryman, and must, therefore, have abjured his allegiance to the Roman Church, that having been at the time a condition precedent to being a vestryman. He was known as "honest Andrew." His son David married Susanna, a daughter of Sir Richard Everard, Baronet, Governor of North Carolina from 1725 to 1731; and grand-daughter of Richard Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Hence the names Everard and Kidder, so common in the family to this day.

The issue of David and Susanna (Everard) Meade were five sons and two daughters. One of the daughters married the second Richard Randolph, of Curle's Neck, a descendant of the Princess Pocahontas. The three elder sons, David, Richard Kidder, and Everard, were sent to Harrow, England, and put under the care of Dr. Thackeray, principal of the school, and archdeacon of Surrey, having for school-fellows Sir William Jones, Sir Joseph Banks, and Dr. Parr. Richard Kidder Meade, the Bishop's father, born July 14, 1746, witnessed the execution of Dr. Dodd, who sometimes preached to the boys, as afterwards, when aid to Washington, he witnessed the execution of Major André, of which he had official charge. The sad sight moved him to tears, as Washington is said to have wept when he signed the death-warrant.

After returning to America, Richard Kidder Meade, at about the age of nineteen, married Elizabeth, sister of Richard Randolph above named, and aunt of John, of Roanoke, who always called him Uncle Kidder. Richard Kidder was of the party who daringly removed the arms from Governor Dunmore's palace, and lodged them in the magazine at Williamsburg. He was in the battle of the Great Bridge, and illustrated the persistency which his son inherited, by saying, "I'll see this matter out, or die!" He sold his fine estate of Coggin's Point on James River; distributed all but three thousand dollars of the proceeds among his relatives; and through a friend invested this sum in the rich lands of the valley of Virginia, which proved to be such a fortunate speculation that he called it, when it became his home after the war, Lucky Hit. He was taken into Washington's family as one of his aids; and he used to say that Hamilton did the headwork of Washington's staff, and he the riding. When Washington, at the close of the war, took leave of his aids, he said to Hamilton, "You must go to the Bar, which you can reach in six months;" and to Colonel Meade, "Friend Dick," as he familiarly called him, "you must go to your plantation; you will make a good farmer, and an honest foreman of the grand jury." This prediction was literally fulfilled. Colonel Meade's teacher at Harrow said if he did not become a great scholar, he would be something better, — "vir probus." When Colonel Meade some years later visited Mount Vernon, he and Washington met at a pair of draw-bars, when both dismounting, Washington insisted that as host it was his privilege to take down the bars; to which Colonel Meade replied, "Well, General, I will be your aid still!"

Colonel Richard K. Meade, married, secondly, December 10, 1780, Mrs. Mary Randolph, widow of William Randolph, of Chatsworth, born November 9, 1753. She was a daughter of Benjamin Grymes and his wife, Elizabeth Fitzhugh, of Chatham, and granddaughter of John and Lucy (Ludwell) Grymes. Colonel Meade had by his first wife no issue that survived her. By his second wife he had four daughters and four sons. Colonel Meade, who was expert with mechanical tools, aided in building a dwelling of logs, with two rooms, on his plantation, Lucky Hit, in Frederick County; and here, on the eleventh of November, 1789, William, the future bishop of Virginia, was born. The days of his boyhood were passed under the wing of his mother, one of those virtuous women, whose "price is far above rubies," who open their mouths with wisdom, and on whose lips is the law of kindness; striving to realize Solomon's beautiful ideal of a housewife, whose "children rise up and call her blessed." From her he received the rudiments of his education, which in those days included instruction in the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer.

From his tenth to his seventeenth year he was under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Weylie, who taught a classical school at Carter Hall, the seat of Nathaniel Burwell, Esq. Mr. Weylie, being a fine scholar, was afterwards professor of languages in St. John's College, at Annapolis, Maryland. Major Thomas Ambler, one of William's school-fellows, who survived him, described William as a warm-hearted, spirited boy, hardy and athletic, devoted to the sports of the field, forest, and stream, little caring for hat or shoes. At Carter Hall there was a garden enclosed with a high wall. In it was forbidden fruit, pleasant to the eyes which saw it, nodding, as it were, upon the topmost boughs. The temptation was irresistible. It was a repetition of the old story, minus "the old boy," whose subtle insinuations were not needed to whet the appetite of the young boys. They held a council of war, and Willie, who to his dying day had a fondness for fruit, volunteered to scale the wall. He succeeded; and as he climbed the pear-tree, Colonel Burwell appeared on the scene. The instruments of discipline for such offences in those days was a negro man in front, and a keen hickory in the rear. Colonel Burwell was magnanimous; only telling Willie to eat as many pears as he could, but not to carry any to the other boys, who had not the pluck to incur the peril, and must not share in the spoils.

On November 6, 1806, William Meade, with William H. Fitzhugh, matriculated in Nassau Hall, Princeton, New Jersey. He became a hard student, reading ten hours a day, and regretting that he could not, on account of weak eyes, give fourteen hours of the twenty-four to study. His letters to his kinsfolk rang with a joyous tone, and overflowed with humor, in which there lurked a vein of mischief. He looked back to the dancing school and to his fair partners as to his golden age. In 1807 his studies were suddenly arrested by the outbreak of a great rebellion, when he and one hundred and fifty of his fellows were dismissed for refusing, upon a peremptory demand, to take their names from a paper offensive to the Faculty. Here his ministering angel interposed, and, by command of his mother, he made proper acknowledgments, and was reinstated, and thus saved from a secular life. This incident calls to mind an epitaph upon a tomb on Mount Parnassus, reared by a son to his mother, and inscribed with the words: "Rest in peace, O my mother! Your son will always obey you." Renewing his studies, he was graduated at the Commencement in 1808, sharing the first honor with two others, adjudged of equal merit. The Cliosophic Society, on September 5, 1808, addressed to him a letter of congratulation, expressing their delight at the triumph of one of their members, and conferring upon him their diploma, the highest reward of distinguished merit that Cliosophians give. The valedictory, a recognition of superior scholarship and excellence as a speaker, was assigned to him. His collegiate career was gracefully crowned by the following letter, without date, addressed by the President to his mother: —

MADAM, — I have the pleasure to inform you that your son has just finished his course of college studies with great credit to himself. His talents, his application, his principles and morals, may justly afford a virtuous and affectionate parent the purest consolation. It will not be long, I hope, before you embrace a son worthy of you. With the greatest respect and best wishes for your happiness, I am, Madam,

Your obedient and humble servant,
SAMUEL S. SMITH.

After his graduation he spent some months in rest and recreation at home, which he improved by contracting an engagement to be married. While at college he had made up his mind to study for the ministry, of which he had never thought until it was suggested by his mother and Mrs. Page, his sister. As there were no theological seminaries then, the alternatives were to return to Princeton as a resident graduate, or to become an inmate of some minister's family. His cousin, Mrs. Custis, fearing lest he had not an adequate sense of the responsibilities of the ministry, and was entering it blindfold, had proposed that he should pursue his studies under the direction of that gentle shepherd, the Rev. Walter D. Addison, of Maryland, and be inspired by his humble example. Accordingly, in November, 1808, the young postulant entered the private oratory of the devout Mr. Addison.

As religion was the primary thing in Bishop Meade, the ruling force which determined his character and career, it is interesting to trace its genesis, from its first visible germ in the nursery through the several stages of its growth, until it flowered into a distinct consciousness that he "had passed from death unto life." The seed had been planted in the virgin soil of his infant heart, and its first germinations had been watched by the loving eye, watered by the tears, and tended by the skilled hand of his mother, who habitually looked to God "to give the increase." He did not remember a time when he did not "think himself a subject of the operations of the Holy Spirit." When he was transplanted to the School and the College he found himself in a new atmosphere, and with a different environment. His mother was not there to call him to prayer, and pray with him. Boys have their law of honor, which does not often coincide with the law of God; what the boys think and say and do is the law of their miniature republics. Under these influences his spiritual growth was dwarfed, if not arrested. But happily there were influences streaming upon him, through letters from his mother and sister, and that other beautiful soul, Mrs. George Washington Parke Custis, of Arlington, whose perennial piety diffused its fragrance in the gay atmosphere of her elegant home, like that peculiar jessamine which blooms in the open air amid the snows of winter. These influences touched him at the turning points of his life, as when his mother's authority sent him back to college, and again suggested to him the thought of studying for the ministry, when the Bar was the goal at which he aimed. Once more Mrs. Custis was the instrument of withdrawing him from college, when she feared he was going "blindfold" into the ministry, and retiring him to the private instruction of Mr. Addison, where he might reap

> "The harvest of a quiet eye,
> That broods and sleeps on his own heart."

Mr. Meade's eyes again failing, he returned home, and after resting them, repaired to Princeton in the summer of 1809 to pursue his theological studies, as a resident graduate. Soon after reaching Princeton he was seized by a fever, which was nigh fatal. When sufficiently recovered, he went home. On the thirty-first of January, 1810, he married Mary, daughter of Philip Nelson, of Frederick County, and granddaughter of Governor Nelson, of Yorktown. His mother gave him a farm without a house, and he went regularly to work, helping to burn the lime, build the house, plough the first field, and sow the seed, which he continued to do for many years. He resolved in the outset to incur no debt, and adhering to this resolution, was able to keep his land until it had so risen in value as to enable him to give his children as much as he desired they should have to begin life with, while many of his friends sacrificed their lands rather than economize labor and style of living.

After receiving from Bishop Madison the resolution of some doubts, suggested by an old canon, about the incompatibility of servile labor with the ministry, Mr.

Meade made arrangements for ordination. Williamsburg, the Episcopal see of Virginia, was distant two hundred miles from Mountain View, his home in the valley, west of the Blue Ridge. It was just past midwinter; it was very cold, and the ground was covered with snow; but nothing daunted, the young cavalier-candidate for orders, in his twenty-first year, mounted his horse, and over country roads and unbridged rivers wended his weary way to Williamsburg, and presented himself in a full suit of "homespun" to the bishop of the diocese. Bishop Madison and Dr. Bracken examined him before breakfast. On their way to church they met the students with dogs and guns, harking to the chase. It was the twenty-fourth of February, 1811, and even in that climate the citizens were filling their ice-houses. The church was cheerless. "Through broken panes the chill winds blew." The congregation consisted of fifteen gentlemen and three ladies, chiefly relatives of Mr. Meade. There was no ordination sermon. When the ordination and communion offices were over, the newly made deacon was "put into the pulpit to preach." The scene was so sad, that Mr. Meade wondered, says Mrs. Nelson, of York, if it was emblematic of his ministry. The following Sunday he spent in Richmond, on his way home. The only church in the city, Old St. John, on the Hill, was never open except on communion occasions. The only services on other days were held in a room in the capitol, where Dr. Buchanan, Episcopalian, and Dr. Blair, Presbyterian, whose friendship has become historical, officiated on alternate Sundays.

Reaching home, Mr. Meade began his ministry as assistant to Dr. Balmain, rector of Frederick Parish, in Frederick County, in which were two churches, one at Winchester, where Dr. Balmain lived, and the Stone Chapel about seven miles from Mountain View. He was assistant to Dr. Balmain until the death of the latter in 1821. He thus became rector, with Robertson and afterwards Jackson, as assistants at Winchester, till 1827, when a new parish was cut off from Frederick, called Frederick Parish, Winchester, leaving only the Stone Chapel and Wickliffe Church in old Frederick Parish. Mr. Jones preached at Wickliffe, and Mr. Meade at the Stone Chapel, till Wickliffe was made a new parish in 1834.

Before the close of the first year of his ministry, an urgent call came from Christ Church, Alexandria, beseeching him to come to the help of a flock scattered by the unfaithfulness of previous pastors. He consented to go for a time, reserving the privilege of keeping up occasional services in his parish at home. In the vestry-book of Christ Church is the following entry: "Nov. 7, 1811. Mr. Meade having agreed to accept the same, the Vestry proceeded to induct him as rector of the parish." Here Mr. Meade first appears as a reformer. A beardless youth bearded the lions to their faces, and brought them to the Church's terms. He found a dumb congregation, with only a few feeble responses. He taught the little children to cry aloud in the Temple, and soon the old church resounded with the liturgy. Baptisms had been made the occasions of family festivities, with "christening cakes, etc.;" and soon there was a general presentation of children in the church. Vestry-meetings had been dinner-parties; and after attending one he changed all that. His youth, zeal, doctrine, and musical voice attracted members of Congress to Christ Church, such as the unique John Randolph, of Roanoke, and Milnor,—afterwards the Rev. Dr. Milnor, whose praise was in all the churches. Francis S. Key, too, author of the "Star-spangled Banner" and of several religious hymns, began here that intimacy with Mr. Meade which made him an earnest co-worker. Dr. Milnor also probably received an impression, which gave direction to his life and a cast to his creed.

The Rev. Dr. Wilmer came to Alexandria, as rector of St. Paul's, during Mr. Meade's incumbency of Christ

Church. The present writer, in his address at the semicentenary of the Seminary in 1873, has described the prominent part which this accomplished divine played in the revival of the Church in Virginia. It must suffice to say now that he and Mr. Meade set the ball in motion which led to the election, in May, 1814, of the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D.D., to the episcopate of Virginia. Dr. Wilmer preached the Convention Sermon on that occasion, in which he said, "We want a bishop who has passed through the pangs of the new birth, and whose great theme shall be Christ crucified."

The time of Mr. Meade's returning to Frederick has never been definitely fixed in print by himself, or by his annalists. It is merely said to have been "in the spring, or after eighteen months." The vestry-book of Christ Church, Alexandria, under date of March 25, 1813, says, "Mr. Meade's connection is about to be dissolved." As he, in the following May, represented Frederick in Convention, his leaving Alexandria must have been between the twenty-fifth of March and the twenty-fifth of May. Bishop Meade says in his Old Churches, "I went to Alexandria in October;" and in another place, he says he was in Alexandria about eighteen months. This, with the entry in the vestry-book, seems to point to the first of April as the exact date. He visited Alexandria in October, but was inducted on the seventh of November.

Mr. Meade instituted reforms in Frederick like those he had put in practice at Alexandria. He established Sunday schools and catechetical classes; societies for ministerial education, for missions, for distribution of Bibles, books, and tracts, and for African colonization. He preached to the negroes on fifteen plantations, meeting them at breakfast-time at one place, and at dinner-time at the next, — their masters consenting, at his instance, to this interruption in their daily labors. In one year, he reported the baptism of forty-eight colored children. By a bold stroke he silenced the clamor against "a hireling clergy," by firmly refusing any pecuniary compensation for his ministerial work. Like Saint Paul, he did not repudiate the right of a minister of the gospel "to live of the gospel;" but, like Saint Paul, he resolved that the gospel from his lips should be "free of charge," and that his own hands should minister to his necessities. His parish, instead of being the only scene of his labors, was but the centre of a wide region comprehending many waste places, which soon became fruitful, his own parish being so well trained as to be content with lay-services in his absence.

Mr. Meade was ordained presbyter in Alexandria, on the tenth of January, 1814, by Bishop Claggett, who put to him some hard questions in the metaphysics of divinity, and requested him to give, in the Latin tongue, an account of his faith. By request of the Convention, Mr. Meade preached, May, 1814, at the opening of the Monumental Church in Richmond, which was built on the site of a theatre which had been burned, in which Governor Smith and many of the leading citizens lost their lives. John Randolph, in a letter to Francis S. Key, says: "Meade will preach to-morrow in the new church. All classes are eager to hear him. What an occasion for a man who would not sink under it! The congregation would like to have him establish himself here. No man could be more generally revered than he is." "Sunday evening," Mr. Randolph adds, "Meade explained why he should not allude to the theatre, and then gave a most excellent sermon on the pleasures of a true Christian life. He goes to Hanover, thirty-five miles, to preach at night. I fear he will wear himself out."

His life was crowded with events and labors of love. Our limited space will only allow us to run rapidly over the salient points. We cannot tell the story of the Theological Seminary, from its first conception in the mind of Dr. Augustine Smith in 1815; its feeble birth and collapse at William and Mary; its revival under the inspiration of William H. Wilmer, William Meade, William Hawley, and Francis S. Key, in Dr. Henderson's house in Georgetown, in 1818; its manipulation by the Convention; its transfer to Alexandria; its development there under the auspices of Drs. Keith, Wilmer, and Norris, to its culmination on Seminary Hill, — a lamp whose light cannot be hid. Like the light of the sun it circled the earth. Athens, eye of Greece, "lumen totius Graeciae," saw it and was glad, and has since dropped bitter tears at the tomb of the veteran missionary Dr. Hill, and of his equally devoted wife, whose light has been shining for half a century on the ruins of human hearts, more sublime than the ruins of the Acropolis. Lighthouses have been kindled along the western coast of Africa, and the martyrs sleep under her palm-trees. The bodies of Bishop Boone and of Parker are buried within the walls of the Celestial Empire; and from their dust the mission may rise in grander proportions, as the oaks of the forest strike their roots deeper and rise to a higher vantage-ground over the mouldering remains of their predecessors. The Right Reverend Channing Moore Williams and his aids yet live "to lighten" the Gentiles of Japan. The Seminary has sent into the domestic and foreign fields seven hundred and fifty sons, who have preached the gospel from Maine to Louisiana, and from Virginia to California and the Indian Territory; of whom, more than one hundred have officiated or are now ministering in Virginia. Of the alumni there have been twelve bishops, eight in the domestic and four in the foreign field.

Nor can I set forth in detail the account of the education society of which Dr. Wilmer, the first president, and Mr. Meade were the main pillars, and whose auxiliaries, rising like springs in the several parishes, poured their rivulets into the common reservoir which watered the Seminary. One word must be said for the commissary-general, Mr. Cassius F. Lee, by whose masterly management the barrel of meal has never wasted, nor the cruse of oil failed.

As to discipline in the diocese, Mr. Meade had from the beginning preached a crusade against horse-racing, card-playing, the theatre, and such like fashionable amusements, as inconsistent with a Christian profession; following it up with private admonitions in person, and by reasonings, remonstrance, affectionate entreaties, and by letters unknown to all but himself and the persons addressed. He knew the State well, and had seen the desolation wrought in families, and in society. He enumerated several counties in which costly mansions, where an elegant hospitality had been dispensed, had lapsed into the hands of strangers, and broad acres which had waved with golden grain were now overgrown with cedar and pine, the evergreen memorials of Virginia's prodigal sons. And he never ceased this crusade until, after angry opposition in many conventions, his views were embodied in the nineteenth canon of discipline, and in the canon disqualifying non-communicants for being deputies in convention. Family prayer, too, that thermometer of the religious temperature of the heads of houses, was revived by a form which he had culled from the works of Bishop Wilson, a copy of which he found in the library at Arlington, and which had been presented to General Washington by a son of that bishop. This prayer, printed at his own expense, he sowed broadcast over the diocese, along with the Book of Common Prayer and tracts, which were issued by the Virginia Publication Society, of which Dr. Wilmer was the originator and president.

In 1819 Mr. Meade went to Georgia, as "commissioner" for the release of recaptured Africans who were about to be sold; and succeeded in his mission. In going to and returning from the South, he was active in establishing auxiliaries to the American Colonization Society, and prosecuted his mission through the Middle to the New England States. He did not believe the holding of slaves, in the circumstances of the South, to be a sin; but he maintained it to be the paramount duty of masters to [illegible] their negroes religious instruction. He emancipated [illegible] slaves; but this experiment proved so disastrous [illegible] negroes that he ceased to encourage it. In common with Jefferson, Monroe, and most of the leading statesmen of Virginia, he looked to Liberia as the door opened by Providence through which the negroes might gradually pass to their own country. The solution of the problem of Africa in America was America in Africa, — in the language of Governor Wise, "The black missionary for black Africa."

In 1826 he was recommended as assistant bishop of Pennsylvania; but some complications having arisen, which we have not space to explain, he in the interest of peace peremptorily, against the protestations of his friends, withdrew his name, declaring that he would not accept the office if tendered. In 1827 William and Mary College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1828 Bishop Moore, in view of his age and infirmities, asked for an assistant. On the twenty-third of May, 1829, Mr. Meade was elected assistant bishop and was consecrated in Philadelphia, August 19.

Bishop Meade's first episcopal act was the consecration of a new church at Winchester, within the bounds of his old parish, on the thirtieth of October, 1829. Bishop Moore's visits, which had never reached the trans-Alleghany district, were now limited to tidewater and adjacent parts. Bishop Meade traversed the valley from the Potomac to the James River, and crossing the Blue Ridge returned through the Piedmontese district, confirming, ordaining, consecrating, and preaching, day by day, until he reached home. Here he remained preaching during Lent, confirmed his own parishioners at Easter, and proceeded on a visitation of Maryland. In 1830 he passed the Alleghany Mountains to Kanawha, and thence up the Ohio to Wheeling and Wellsburg, returning by way of Romney. In 1831 he visited the infant churches in Kentucky and Tennessee, and a large area in Virginia. We give these details as a sample of the extent, variety, and arduous character of the labors of this unwearied worker, who, as Dr. Hawks said, cannot be classed with "unpreaching prelates."

Besides "the care of all the churches," which came upon him daily, he had more painful labors to perform. To make these intelligible, it will be necessary to state briefly his relations to various religious and benevolent societies. Among them the first in his esteem was the Bible Society, which he looked upon as the spring of living waters from which the others were streams, which he valued in proportion to their nearness to the fountain and the purity of the streams. When the latter became muddied he refused to drink of them himself, or to be the channel of conveying them to others. His first printed production extant was in behalf of the Bible Society, in 1815; and in that there is the noteworthy statement, that out of sixty Bible societies in the United States, eleven of them were in Virginia. His life-long interest in the Society is indicated by the fact that one of his last acts was to have, by a telegram, his name enrolled as a life-member of the new Bible Society of the Confederate States, with a donation in money. As long as the General Missionary Society was a voluntary institution he cordially sustained it, as he continued to do after it came under the care of the General Convention in 1835, until he thought the domestic branch of it was managed in the interests of party. He then gave his contributions to domestic missions through the Church Missionary Society of the West, established in Philadelphia. He continued to co-operate the foreign committee. He preached a powerful n in behalf of the cause of temperance before the ion in Staunton, in May, 1834. As to the Tem- Society, it appears from his letter to Bishop that he hesitated about joining in the crusade wine, lest it should reflect upon what is said in New Testament and upon its use in the Lord's Supper. His son is of the opinion that he ultimately adopted the total abstinence pledge in theory, as he did in practice.

There being at the time no such institution in the Episcopal Church, he and Dr. Wilmer, as we have seen, established the Episcopal Prayer Book and Tract Society, and also patronized the American Tract Society, and Sunday-School Union. In 1826 the Episcopal Sunday-School Union was established, not by but during the General Convention. It was a voluntary society, and repeated efforts to make the General Convention its sponsor failed. Bishop Whittingham, Drs. DeLancey and Hopkins, agreed with Bishop Meade in opposing it. It being understood that it would be impartial as to the two parties in the Church, the Diocesan Convention cordially recommended it. But as, according to Randolph of Roanoke, Patrick Henry and George Mason "saw the poison under the wings" of the Federal Constitution, Mr. Meade discerned the party color in the Episcopal Sunday-School Union, in the form of an expurgated copy of Mrs. Sherwood's catechism, and in other books. Against this he earnestly protested, and a long, frank, and courteous correspondence ensued between him and Dr. Whittingham, the Secretary. A pledge was given that the books objected to should be withdrawn, and that on no future occasion should offence be given. But the society coming into new hands, who repeated the offence, Bishop Meade, in an octavo pamphlet of sixty pages, reviewed their course and their books. His statements were denounced as calumnious, and he, despairing of any change of policy, withdrew. Thus was sown the seed from which, in 1847, the Evangelical Knowledge Society sprung.

In 1834, to the care of all the churches Bishop Meade added the special pastoral charge of Christ Church, Norfolk, — one of the largest congregations in the diocese. This task he undertook with a view of harmonizing some discords, which prevented the calling of a minister. He spent two years in Norfolk, which he says were "among the happiest and most useful of his life," and were terminated when the Rev. Martin P. Parks was chosen unanimously as rector of Christ Church, and the Rev. Thomas, afterwards Bishop, Atkinson as rector of old St. Paul's, the latter having been ordained deacon by Bishop Meade while he resided in Norfolk.

In 1839 Bishop Meade was called, for a like reason, to take charge of St. Paul's Church, Petersburg, where he spent six weeks, during which there was a great awakening of religious interest, and a large addition to the communion, as there had been in Norfolk. All discord was hushed, and the vestry with one voice called the Rev. Nicholas H., afterwards Bishop, Cobbs to the charge of St. Paul's. The writer succeeded Mr. Cobbs, and reaped some of the fruits of his successful ministry. Bishop Meade here closed his parochial labors, and devoted himself henceforth exclusively to those of the episcopate, which became each year more oppressive from increasing age and infirmities, he having now passed his meridian. Accordingly, in his address to the Convention of 1841, he asked some months' release from his labors. The response of the Convention was prompt and cordial; and he started for Boston to sail for England. On his way he received this note: —

MOUNT VERNON, April 23, 1841.

Will our honored and beloved Diocesan accept a staff cut from the tomb of the Father of his Country. And should weakness come over him in a far distant land, let this be in his hand,

and remn. his country, where so many affectionate hearts put up prayers to God for his safety and happiness. And in his prayers for those he leaves, will he sometimes remember

THE FAMILY AT MOUNT VERNON.

On the third of May he sailed from Boston, and reached Liverpool on the fourteenth. He was absent four months, returning to the General Convention in New York in October. He enjoyed this recreation like a boy in play-time. The beautiful billowy green grass, the grand old trees, the churches and castles, and the like, enchanted him. His association with the bishops, with the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, the Rev. William Goode, and many other pe ns, was delightful, and he returned brimful and overflow. with pleasant reminiscences. He recorded his impres. ons in letters to the Southern Churchman.

Soon after his return home he was shocked and grieved by the sudden death of the loving and beloved disciple, Bishop Moore, who fell "in harness" while on a visitation of Lynchburg, on the eleventh of November, 1841. On the eighteenth of May, 1842, Bishop Meade asked the Con- ntion for an assistant, saying that for twelve years he had performed all the itinerant duties of the diocese, re- ring eight months each year of successive services, from to day, until his voice and strength were failing. response to his request, the Convention said that, in opinion of his physicians and friends, the Bishop's alth imperatively demanded repose. Accordingly, the ev. John Johns, D.D., rector of Christ's Church, Balti- was elected assistant bishop in May, 1842, and was ecrated in the Monumental Church, Richmond, Octo- ber 13, 1842. Bishop Meade continued his visitations, often in much pain from disease of the heart, which he apprehended might at any moment end his life. Before Bishop Moore's death the Tractarian trouble was in the air; but Bishop Meade waited for his superior to give the note of warning. The latter's loving heart shrank from controversy; but the time soon came when he was constrained to sound the alarm, and his trumpet gave no uncertain sound in the Convention of 1841. When Bishop Meade became the chief pastor he felt that his time had come to speak out, and to do what in him lay to drive away the erroneous and strange doctrines which were disturbing the peace of the Church. This he did very explicitly and powerfully in his address to the Convention of 1842. In view of the approaching General Convention, he prepared two very elaborate articles, found among his manuscripts, setting forth his opinion of the duty of the Church in this emergency. He also had published at his own expense an American edition of the works of his learned friend, the Rev. William Goode, afterwards Dean of Ripon, which in the opinion of Bishop Johns never have been, and never can be, answered.

For the reasons already stated, Bishop Meade and other bishops and clergymen founded the Evangelical Knowledge Society, during the General Convention of 1847 in New York. This society was the object of his warmest affections, which he cherished for the last fifte years of his life with his pen and his purse and hi episcopal influence. It was fiercely assailed from its ception as a secret conspiracy against the unity of Church, hatched in the dark by men who were afra the light of day. It must, we think, be acknowledge now by all candid and well-informed survivors of the time that this clamor was both unjust and ungenerou The writer was present at its inauguration, and can witness to the catholic spirit displayed by Bishop Me in favoring the widening of the platform by incorporating into the title of the society the word "knowledge," on motion of Bishop Eastburn, who thought the word "evangelical," pure and simple, might repel some in whose minds that word was associated with a narrow party bias. And when a good man, more zealous than wise, opposed it, and was talking about Gideon and his little army, Bishop Meade, with a kind but commanding wave of the hand, set him down, and welcomed Bishop Eastburn into the society on his own terms. All the confident predictions of its adversaries were disappointed, and the society has done a good work, without disturbing the peace of the Church.

We have now reached the most painful period of Bishop Meade's life, and the saddest chapter in the history of the American Episcopal Church; namely, the trials of the three bishops. We shall not descend to the details of these trials. Those who would form their judgments upon the law and testimony in these several cases may consult the printed records.

These bishops were the heads of the great dioceses of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, each with a large following of clergymen, animated by that *esprit de corps* which characterizes all homogeneous bodies of men, and whose church principles prompted them to rally around their bishop. They were also centres of social circles, filled with men of character, talent, and professional eminence. Most persons would naturally shrink from assailing those thus strongly intrenched. This would be specially true of pure-minded women, who would instinctively shrink from the public gaze and criticism, and more sensitively from being tortured by that terrible engine, a cruel cross-examination at the hands of skilled attorneys-at-law. It can hardly be supposed that any motive could have impelled any sane person to such a sacrifice unless he was constrained by stern duty, which Wordsworth beautifully calls the "daughter of the voice of God." And yet this was charged against the presenters, Bishops Meade, Otey, McIlvaine, Burgess, and Elliott, upon whose heads, and those of their "aiders and abettors," vials of wrath were poured out through the press. Bishop Meade was singled out as the prime leader of the so-called persecution, — the Coryphaeus of a gigantic conspiracy to hunt down the innocent victims of heartless malice. Although he has long been acquitted by the grand jury of the people, it may be well to conclude this notice with the mature opinions of two eminent prelates, whose duty it was to study the whole case thoroughly, and whose reputations are without stain. I cite Bishops Johns and Hopkins. Bishop Johns, referring to this charge, says: —

> There were altogether but three instances of judicial discipline consummated or attempted "in this quarter of the Church." 1st. Bishop H. U. Onderdonk's; with which Bishop Meade had nothing to do, till placed on the Committee to whom the matter was referred in the House of Bishops; and there is no evidence of his action on the Committee further than to concur in the Reports and Resolutions, as submitted to the House. 2d. Bishop B. T. Onderdonk's; in which, of the three presenting bishops, Bishop Meade was the last who agreed to engage in the inquiry which led to the trial. His name precedes the other two simply because he was their senior. 3d. Bishop Doane's; in which, as the correspondence shows, Bishop Meade was neither foremost in the proceedings, nor did he yield to the canonical requisition made upon him until he had endeavored, as far as allowable, to excuse himself from the disagreeable duty. — Mem. p. 397.

And Bishop Hopkins closes his defence of the House of Bishops against the assaults of Horace Binney, Esq., by saying: —

> And now I close my humble labor in defence of the House of Bishops. Much might be added, if I were inclined to notice the many sharp thrusts of our adversary, and especially his severe attack on Bishop Meade, my worthy and widely reverenced brother of Virginia. But on this field of remark I shall not enter. My object is to vindicate principles, not men, — and men only so far as they maintain those principles, which constitute the praise and glory of the church throughout the world. Bishop Meade stands in no need of defence from me. His life

is his defence; and I would to God that we could all appeal to the same evidence with equal safety. Our learned antagonist, however, seems to think it a matter of reproach that this eminent man has been the leader of all the presentments against the bishops. But who has the right to impeach the honesty of his motives, or the utility of his labors, in this most thankless and yet most important part of his official duty? Assuredly there are thousands in our land who have cordially approved it, while yet there might not be one amongst them all who would have undergone the odium, toil, and trouble of the task. As to myself, I lay no claim to the Christian boldness and fearlessness which it required. But yet I should esteem it an honor, far beyond any in my reach, if my epitaph should say, "Here lies the body of a bishop who was distinguished beyond all his brethren for his zealous, sincere, and consistent support of pure church discipline." — Mem. pp. 397–399.

Time would fail to tell of Bishop Meade's "journeyings oft" and many labors, in the last years of his life. Besides traversing the whole diocese, he delivered lectures at the Seminary, and went as far as New Haven to attend a missionary meeting. On October 11, 1859, he, with the Bishops of Vermont, Louisiana, and Kentucky, consecrated the group of buildings at the Seminary, in Alexandria, called Aspinwall Hall, from their beneficent founder; and he delivered an address. In the same year he presided over the General Convention, at Richmond, composed of thirty-six bishops, one hundred and twenty-nine clerical, and one hundred and six lay deputies, — which Bishop Johns suggests must have contrasted strangely in his mind with the Convention of seven clergymen, who elected Bishop Moore in 1814. As late as 1860 he visited all the congregations of Western Virginia, between the last of May and the first of July; attended the examinations at the High School and Seminary, in Alexandria; held an ordination; and during his vacation at home, in the heat of summer, preached in the neighboring churches. In the fall he visited the churches in

Piedmontese Virginia, and after retiring into winter-quarters at home, he preached at Millwood, Berryville, and Winchester.

Bishop Meade saw with deep emotion the first speck of war in the horizon, when it was not bigger than a man's hand, and he prayed devoutly that it might pass away as the morning cloud. His correspondence with Bishop McIlvaine showed how intently he watched the political firmament. December 15, 1860, he writes about the bishops raising their voices for peace. "If the minister of the Prince of Peace can do nothing in the interest of peace, how can we expect the selfish politicians to do it? I am almost in despair. I have put forth a form of prayer for the present crisis." January 12, 1861, he writes, "I believe that good sense, self-interest, and religion, with God's providence, will arrest the calamity of disunion." May 8, 1861, he says, "I have slowly and reluctantly come to the conclusion that we must separate." May 17, 1861, "We are in daily expectation of invasion. They outnumber us and have many advantages, but will be met with courage by those who believe that they are unjustly and wantonly assailed. Virginia may be soon drenched with the blood of the flower of her youth, and the strength of her manhood." Bishop Meade, though never meddling with politics, which is regarded in Virginia as out of the ministerial sphere, was of the Washington, Hamilton, and Marshall school; and clung to the Union till the Force Bill was passed, which made the South solid, as the first gun at Sumter did the North. To the Convention of 1861 he said, "It has pleased God to suffer a great calamity to come upon us. A deeper and more honest conviction that it will be on our part a war of self-defence, and therefore justifiable before God, seldom, if ever, animated the hearts of those who appealed to arms." He now seized the forlorn hope that the separation might be a peaceable one, like that between Judah and Israel. "If I know my own heart," he said, "could the sacrifice of the poor remnant of my life have contributed in any degree to the preservation of the Union, such sacrifice would have been cheerfully made." He expressed an earnest desire "that the ministers and members of our Church, and all Virginians, should conduct the contest in the most Christian spirit, rising above all uncharitable imputations upon all who are opposed, since many are equally s[illegible]oth sides. The Church in Virginia has more [illegible]ls and patrons than others in the North. The thought of separation from those so long dear to me is anguish to my soul, but there is a union of hearts in our common faith and hope that can never be broken." He commends to special prayer "those who have devoted themselves to the defence of the State, among whom a large portion of officers and soldiers belong to our communion. May they be faithful soldiers of the Cross, as well as valiant and successful defenders of the State!"

The Convention of May, 1861, was the semi-centenary of his ministry; and he preached the Convention sermon. It was like the swan-song of the sainted Simeon, or rather like Moses on Pisgah, taking a retrospect of his life, and a survey of the promised land. In looking back,

> Visions of the past
> Crowd on his memory fast.

His voice faltered as he spoke of the joys of his ministry, and the personal kindnesses he had received till his "cup was full," and running over; of the revival of the Church, so that dead formularies had become instinct with life, and dumb truths had found a tongue to utter them with unction; of the goodly company of preachers now met in the metropolis, where only a few despairing ones ad assembled around a table in a committee-room of the capitol. He saw in the past cause for deep humiliation in the imperfection of his services.

When he said, as he had said in substance the day before, that if the sacrifice of his life could reunite the sections which were frowning upon each other like cliffs that had been rent asunder, it would be gladly made, every one felt that this was no vain boast.

The diocese of Virginia was as slow in moving towards separation as the State was towards secession. Up to the Convention of May, 1861, she stood still, silently, but not without deep emotion, surveying the situation. The other Southern dioceses had drafted a constitution and called a provisional council in Columbia, South Carolina, for November, 1861; inviting the bishops and deputies of the seceded States to meet them. Accordingly the Convention of Virginia, in 1861, appointed a provisional committee, consisting of Bishop Johns, Dr. Sparrow, the Rev. John Grammer, Judge Gholson, R. H. Cunningham, and James Galt, to act in the interim as the exigencies of the time might demand, and also to represent the diocese in any Convention that might be held. On the twenty-fourth of May the Federal troops occupied Alexandria, and Bishop Meade returned to his home; and on the thirteenth of June, the day set apart by the President of the Confederate States for prayer and fasting, he addressed his old congregation at Millwood. The situation was peculiar. Two invading armies were approaching from opposite directions, and the temptation was strong to propitiate the coming invaders; but he held the balance even, and meted out to both parties what he conceived to be the measure of their sins. He said, in substance, that historians and poets had painted in glowing colors the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, but the Word of God did not thus speak; on the contrary, it said that wars and fightings came of men's lusts. warring in their members. He then arraigned bot sections for their sins of profanity, blasphemy, intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, and sectional hate. The only wars that had any pretence for justification were those in defence of the rights of person and property; and even these were attended with so much sin and suffering, that they must be regarded as sore scourges and judgments of an angry God.

The bishops of Virginia, with the deputies in the Convention, attended the Council at Columbia, and took part in the proceedings which led to the establishment of the church in the Confederate States. Then, as the stricken deer pursued by the hunter retraces its steps, so the old bishop tossed upon the tide of war once more seeks shelter from the tempest in the harbor of his own home. He issued an appeal to his people to look into their stores of food, their bed-clothing and the carpets on their floors, to see what they could spare for the comfort of the soldiers in the field during the winter's cold. And then he went into winter-quarters at Mountain View, which hitherto had seemed to have the effect fabled of Antæus, whose strength was always renewed so soon as he touched his mother earth.

All animals have by nature what the French happily call "sites d'affections" — local attachments. Birds will compass sea and land to come back to the nests in which they were hatched, and the faithful dog will break the chain which detains him from his loved home, to which he joyfully runs after years of absence. In man, this instinct rises to the dignity of patriotism.

Bishop Meade had this instinct in large measure. He was a Virginian in every fibre of his soul and body; and of all Virginia the Valley was the paradise to him, and in the physiognomy of the Valley, Mountain View was the most pleasing feature. It was the home of his fathers; and in looking back from this point to the "blue mountains of his dim childhood," he saw, with what Howell calls "ancestral eyes," the parents from whom he derived his being, who had put the chart of life in his hands, and pointed him to the Star in the Heavens by which he should steer his course. Here were the mountain paths he trod in his boyhood, and the transparent streams in which he quenched his thirst and bathed his limbs. Here were the scenes of his school-boy plays with the lads he loved, and the lasses with whom he danced on the green. His hands had helped to build the first house for the bride of his youth; had ploughed the first furrow in the farm, and sowed the first seed, when Mountain View was cut off from Lucky Hit, and set apart as his portion of the paternal estate. Often, when worn with work he came back, like a bird with weary wing, to this nest of his infancy, his youth was renewed like the eagle's amid these beautiful images of his early years. The writer will never forget when the Bishop, after presiding at the morning session of the Convention in Norfolk, asked him to walk with him to his lodgings. Upon reaching his chamber the Bishop threw himself upon his bed for rest. The writer was on the eve of sailing for Europe; and in talking about leaving home, the Bishop asked if he remembered the lines of Ovid, —

> Ter limen tetigi, ter sum revocatus, et ipse
> Indulgens animo pes mihi tardus erat;
> Saepe *vale* dicto rursus sum multa locutus,
> Et quasi discedens oscula summa dedi;
> Saepe eadem mandata dedi, meque ipse fefelli,
> Respiciens oculis pignora cara meis.
> . . . .
>
> Roma relinquenda est. . . .
> Uxor in eternum vivo mihi viva negatur,
> Et domus et fidae dulcia membra domus.

He recited the lines with much feeling, adding that he could scarcely ever read them without tears. There were other associations of a more sacred sort, as the lines suggest, which endeared his mountain home to him, and gave to Ovid's Tristia a peculiar pathos. Here he had lived happily with two loving and beloved wives.

Of his first marriage with Mary, daughter of Philip Nelson, who was the mother of his children, we have already spoken. She was taken from him, July 3, 1817. It was some comfort to him, he said, that she had died in his arms; that he "heard the last breath from her lips, and felt the last pulse in her veins. Just as the glorious sun arose, her spirit ascended to heaven, leaving a most unworthy but much attached husband and three motherless boys to mourn their loss." She was buried at the old chapel, under a marble slab with this inscription, "Mary has chosen that good part, which never shall be taken from her." "A silent and loving woman is a gift from the Lord." Three years and a half after the death of his first wife he married, December 16, 1820, Thomasia, daughter of Thomas Nelson, of Yorktown and Hanover, a woman of exemplary piety, and one of the sweetest singers in Israel, who often accompanied him on his visitations, and raised the tunes in public worship. She cherished his children as if they had been her own. She died on the twenty-sixth of July, 1836, and was buried at he Fork Church in Hanover, by the side of her grandther, relict of Governor Nelson. The Bishop's Reminences of these godly women lay by him in manuscript for many years, and were then privately printed, being designed only for the eyes of his children.

Mountain View was also the scene of his life-long stry, during which lines of relationship of the most ed character were established between him and successive flocks of parishioners, whom he had zed, catechized, confirmed, married, taught from the pulpit and from house to house, and most of whom he had buried in the cemetery at the old chapel, to hich he had always looked as the last resting-place of his own remains, when his work was done.

The present dwelling is the second upon the same site. The first, which he helped to build with his own hands, was an oblong plain building of brick and wood, with an eccentric staircase running from the ground on the outside to a narrow point, which made the ascent to one's lodgings, for old folks, somewhat perilous. This was succeeded by a square brick tenement, to which in time two rooms of wood were added on the north, and later, two more on the east, — one for the Bishop's chamber, and the other for his study.

The surrounding grounds, comprising about twenty-five or thirty acres, are carpeted by a velvety greensward, like that on the blue-grass lands of Kentucky. The mansion faces the south; the front and rear grounds are adorned with native and transplanted trees, single and in groups; in the west is a grove of grand aboriginal oaks. To the east is the garden, producing grapes, evergreens, and flowers; and the orchard, with its choice fruits, planted by the Bishop's hands or under his eye. At his study window was a fine cedar, plucked by the roots from the walls near the ceiling of the historical church in the Isle of Wight. Among the evergreens were some from th cliffs of the Kanawha and other rivers of Virginia, a a cedar from Mount Lebanon. There was also a wil from the tomb of Napoleon at St. Helena.

The Massanutten Mountain, from a point near New Market, runs northeast in a single chain, correspondin to the windings of the Shenandoah River. Nearly posite to Luray it parts into two parallel chains, incl a valley twenty-five miles long, and of a mean bre of three miles, and traversed by a bold mountain s called Passage Creek. The east and west Fort Mou draw very near each other at their terminations, near opposite Strasburg. Through the narrow gorge the creek issues, leaving barely room for a road, which in p runs in the bed of the creek. The mountains rise perpendicularly one thousand feet, crag upon crag, accessible only to birds, which make their nests in the rocks. It is a natural fort, and hence its name. Washington was heard to say, that, if he was driven from the east by the foe, he would make his last stand in this stronghold. This mountain was in the parish of General Muhlenberg, who doffed his gown for a soldier's uniform at the outbreak of the Revolution, and may have suggested the idea to Washington, who however in his youth was surveyor for Lord Fairfax, whose seat, Greenway Court, was within a few miles of Mountain View. Bishop Meade fancied that he saw in these mountains a striking likeness to the mountains of Edom, as described in Holy Scripture; and it was delightful to hear him speculate upon these things, and upon Jefferson's theory that the valley of Virginia was once a great lake, whose waters burst their barriers at Harper's Ferry, making scenery so grand that it was worth a voyage over the Atlantic to see it. Bishop Meade thought that the valley of the Fort might have been a little lake within the great one. No one could have more heartily sympathized with the sweet Psalmist of Israel, to whose eyes and ears all Nature seemed so animated and vocal that he called upon sun, moon, stars, and light, mountains and hills, fruitful trees and all cedars, and all green things upon earth, to praise the name of the Lord. "How often," said he, "did my wife and I, with the boys playing around us, walk over our little farm rejoicing in its riches, and admiring the woods and mountains around us, and our small fields richly clad with grass, and beautifully blooming with clover." Like David, too, he was a keeper of sheep, preferring to derive his living from flocks, and disliking to have the green turf turned under by the plough.

At a later period he was often accompanied in his walks by his grandchildren, hanging to his hands, and climbing over his shoulders. At such times he relaxed, like a bow which had been too highly strung, recovering its elasticity when the strings were loosed. If those who thought him a cold and hard man could have seen him in these hours of "abandon" to the bliss of home, when his affections, pent up in pursuit of duty and discipline, welled over in words of tenderness and acts of kindness, it would have softened their censure. And if they could have known how he contented himself with simple fare and the plainest furniture, and with homely apparel and equipage, that he might accumulate funds from which his charities flowed through unseen channels into the treasuries of religious societies, into scantily furnished rectories, the dwellings of the poor, and the asylums of the widow and the orphan, they would have applanded that modest charity which, hiding itself from the eyes of men, could patiently wait for its open reward in heaven.

Owing to the state of the country, it had hitherto been impossible to get together three bishops for the consecration of the Rev. R. H. Wilmer, D.D., to the episcopate of Alabama. Bishop Meade, being the presiding bishop of the Church of the South, was very unwilling that this consecration should be again deferred, and made an appointment for it to take place in St. Paul's Church, Richmond, March 6, 1862. Though suffering from a deep cold, he hazarded his life by leaving home on an inclement day to meet the appointment. His son, the Rev. Richard K. Meade, met him at Gordonsville, and says that when his father entered the train he was coughing and panting for breath, so that he could scarcely speak. On the appointed day, being unable to be present during the whole service, he walked up the aisle, evidently in pain, but with his usual placid dignity, and took his seat in the chancel just before the act of consecration. Bishops Johns and Elliott helped him from his chair to his feet, supporting him, and joining with him in the imposition of hands, "while his voice, once of such sweetness and compass, now trembling and broken, uttered the Apostolic commission." A feeling of mingled awe and sympathy and sadness seemed to shroud the sanctuary. The newly-made bishop must have been deeply impressed by the fact that the first and last official act of the presiding bishop of the South was the consecration of the son of his earliest and ablest co-worker in the revival of the Church in Virginia; and that this supreme effort of the aged patriarch hastened his death, if it did not cost him his life.

He returned from the church to the hospitable home of his friend, Mr. John L. Bacon, where he was nursed with as much tender care and loving sympathy as if he had been in the bosom of his own family. The flushed wave that tided him over the office of consecration, awakened hopes that it might bear him back to his home. The writer, who saw him a few days after, with his usual measured tread pacing Mr. Bacon's basement sitting-room, had no apprehension that the end was so near. But the tide soon began to ebb. His limbs, which had been so long the obedient servants of his strong will, gradually ceased to respond to its bidding. When Bishop Johns entered the room on Monday, March 10, Bishop Meade said, "Let me rise and walk a little." He put on his dressing-gown, and, with his arm around Bishop Johns's neck, took a few steps with so much difficulty that he begged to be put in bed again. When he lay down he said, "It is all ver; my strength is gone; it is as good a time as any me to die." For a few days more he suffered with et equanimity dreadful paroxysms of pain in the heart. Read me," he said, "the history of the crucifixion;" upon which, his comment was, "Yes, six hours did our Lord suffer the intense agony of the cross for us, for our sins; and shall we complain of our sufferings?"

Bishop Meade's death was no more dramatic than his life. On Tuesday morning, March 11, he asked to be alone with Bishop Johns. He then said: —

I wish to bear my testimony to some things of importance.

The views of evangelical truth and order which I have advocated for fifty years I approve, and exhort my brethren, North and South, to promote more than ever. My course in civil affairs I also approve, — resistance to Secession at first, till circumstances made it unavoidable. I trust the South will persevere in separation. I believe there are thousands in the North who condemn the course of their Administration towards us, and in time will express themselves openly.

The prospect of rest from sin and suffering is attractive, though I am willing to remain and take my part in the labors and trials which may be before us. My hope is in Christ — the Rock of Ages. I have no fear of death; and this not from my courage, but from my faith. The present seems a proper time for my departure. I am at peace with God, through Jesus Christ, my Lord, and in charity with all men, even our bitterest enemies. All that has ever been said in commendation of me I loathe and abhor, as utterly inconsistent with my consciousness of sin.

I commend you and all my brethren to the tender mercies of Christ, and pray for his blessing on the Church in Virginia.

Thursday evening, March 13, he asked the time of day, and being told said, "Then I shall not see Richard;" meaning his son, the Rev. R. K. Meade, who had gone to Mountain View to bring away some valuable papers, before the tide of war overflowed his home. The only member of his immediate family with him was his grandson, William H. Meade, now Dr. Meade, of Philadelphia. General Lee called several times. His last visit, on March 13, was the day before the Bishop's death. He was much touched, and as he leaned over the bed, the Bishop laid his hand upon the General's head and said, "God bless you, Robert! I called you Robert when I heard you say your catechism, and so I call you now."

The funeral took place from St. Paul's Church, and the body was deposited in a vault in Hollywood Cemetery. In the afternoon, the clergy passed appropriate resolutions. The body was afterwards interred with becoming religious rites in a lot in Hollywood. An appropriate monument of marble, imported from Italy, was raised over his remains; but both monument and remains have since been removed to the cemetery of the Theological Seminary of Virginia. The following is the epitaph:—

[South Face.]
Sacred to the memory of the Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D.D.,
Third Bishop of Virginia,
Born in Clarke Co., Va., Nov. 11, 1789,
Died in the City of Richmond, March 14, 1862.

[East End.]
Erected as a memorial of love and veneration
By the Protestant E[illegible]d Church of Va.

[[illegible]ace.]

Prominent in the revival of [illegible] Church after the Revolutionary War, he was the zealous defender of its purity, and the founder and liberal patron of the Theological Seminary of Virginia.

[West End.]
He lived for Christ, died in Christ, and we believe is with Christ.

I cannot so well conclude this sketch as in the words of that accomplished gentleman and divine, the late Right Reverend Stephen Elliott, D.D., Bishop of Georgia, on whom Bishop Meade had laid his hands in consecration on February 28, 1841:—

I knew Bishop Meade well, having been connected with him, and studied him deeply; for his was a character to be studied. To those who looked upon him superficially, or crossed his path in the way of duty or discipline, he appeared but as a stern, unbending, uncompromising champion of the right and the true. To that point, it is conceded, he desired to bring himself; but it was because he felt within himself the stirring of high imaginations, of deep overpowering feelings, of intense aristocratic pride. He trampled upon them all; but at what cost and what struggle but few can understand. Raised up by God to leaven the Church, at a moment when that Church was full of coldness and erastianism, he felt that he must first school himself ere he could perform the work for which he had been anointed. And this he did unfalteringly and without any visible shrinking. Fearless by nature, frank by temperament, straightforward because he always aimed at noble ends, commanding through character, he turned all the qualities which would have made him a hero or a warrior into the channels of the Church, and fought for her against the world, the flesh, and the devil, as he would have fought for his country against her natural enemies. All really grand men stand very much alone; they become isolated because few can comprehend them. And Bishop Meade was a great man, one of the heroes of faith; and it was only when you were privileged to know him in his moments of tenderness and softness, when sad memories gushed over him, or deep unutterable feelings forced themselves through the covering of grace, that you could appreciate how much the man had been absorbed into the Christian and the bishop. Would that we had more champions like him; then would the Church indeed appear in her power before the world, overcoming it as did her Lord, and not compromising with it for her own selfish ends. He was taken from us when we could, so far as human eye can see, but ill spare him. God knows he may have been taken from evil to come; for the tide of war had just reached his own door when his spirit took its everlasting flight.

As much importance is attached, in these times, to the physical features as well as the ancestral traits of the subjects of biography, it may be well to say that in his youth Mr. Meade was of slender frame and in delicate health, as the portrait of him when at Princeton, where he graduated, indicates. His hair was dark brown originally, and later of silver gray. His brow was capacious, and suggestive rather of a vigorous than of a brilliant mind. His eyes, in the first portrait and also in one taken when he was forty years of age, seem to be dark; but the recollection of those most familiar with him is that they were of steel gray, shaded with dark blue. The eye was his weak organ, failing always under hard study, and demanding rest. This weakness he thought a providential damper to his ambition, and was reconciled to it. His height was five feet ten inches and a half, and he was perfectly erect to the last. By much exercise in the open air, in manual labor, in long walks, and on horseback, his frame was developed into a manly and vigorous form, with great ability for labor, and with a happy unconsciousness of a nervous system, — which made him, perhaps, a little intolerant of those who were painfully conscious of that possession. When asked how he felt in a storm at sea, he calmly replied, "You know I was never nervous."

Bishop Meade's portrait at the Seminary in Alexandria is highly characteristic; it is also an illustration of his church views. His arm and hand rest upon the Holy Bible. By its side is the folio Opera Cranmeri; and conspicuous among other volumes is Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, which represents more nearly than any other one book, unless it be the Book of Common Prayer, Bishop Meade's views of the doctrine and discipline of the Church.

The Protestant Episcopal Church never had a more loyal and loving son born within her bosom than Bishop Meade. If any one wishes to know his theory of the subject, they will find it in his Reasons for loving the Episcopal Church, published in 1852, and re-published recently, which is an able and loving exposition of the ground of his ardent attachment to its doctrine, discipline, and worship. If one wishes to see faith tested by works, let him look at Bishop Meade's life. When he made up his mind to study for the ministry, the Church in Virginia had so little vitality that there had been no convention from 1805 to 1811. He entered the ministry the very year, 1811, in which a General Convention at New Haven, in which Virginia had no representative, reported "that they feared the Church in Virginia was so depressed that there was danger of her total ruin, unless great exertions, favored by the blessing of Providence, are employed to revive her." It was in this dark hour that this young man, only twenty-one years of age, turned his back upon the dazzling worldly prospects that the tempter set before him, preferring to suffer affliction with her than to bow down to Mammon, or set his sails to the popular religious breeze of the hour. When, feeling the need of a native ministry, he asked Chief Justice Marshall for a contribution to that end, that great and good man, while subscribing handsomely, said he feared it was unkind to tempt the young men of Virginia into the ministry of a Church which could never be revived. But Mr. Meade, believing that the Church was not dead, but torpid from the effect of the fetters by which she had been manacled to the State, and that what she needed for her restoration was warm "spiritual preaching and holy living," resolved to devote his life and fortune to her service. He lived to see her rise from the dust, as Devereux Jarratt had predicted, and put on her beautiful garments and become a power in the land; for she was never so prosperous as at the advent of the civil war.

The Bishop seems to have had no literary ambition. He wrote nothing for fame. He was too busy to have time for elaborating or giving a literary finish to his writings. He wrote nothing but to meet a present and pressing demand; and yet everything that proceeded from his pen was the fruit of anxious thought, careful investigation, and sufficient learning, and marked by strong practical common sense and vigorous argument. It has been well said that false doctrines will not wait to be corrected by ponderous folios or cumbrous quartos. The pamphlet, the tract, the occasional address, the weekly sermon, and the daily newspaper are the great instruments of moulding the doctrines of the Church and the country. The "word in season," of which Solomon understood the value, when he likened it to "apples of gold in pictures of silver," must arrest error, confirm faith, purify opinion, and commend morality and religion. Bishop Meade seems to have acted on this principle. His last and most elaborate work, The Bible and the Classics, — the fruit of wide and careful research, — was designed to meet what seemed to him a pressing want in the schools, which he had tried for thirty years to get some one to supply, — and among these the learned Mr. Faber in England. His other larger work, Old Churches and Families, was written in instalments for a magazine, and in the midst of his visitations and other preoccupations. This work is a valuable museum of facts within his own knowledge, and gathered from all accessible sources. Although he never had time to digest and reduce it to method, it fills what without it would be a "hiatus valde deflendus." It has errors of course, from the mistakes of his informers, of the copyists, and the press, as all such books have. These in process of time will be corrected; and it will be revised, enlarged, methodized, and illustrated. But in the mean time it will remain a monument of his wonderful personal knowledge and acquirements in this line. The present writer was the first to publish a parish history on the basis of the vestry books and registers. After printing Bristol Parish (1846) and St. George's Parish (1847), his health failed, and in 1856 Bishop Meade commenced his series, incorporating the two foregoing histories into his larger work.

Bishop Meade became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society January 13, 1858.

The following are the children of William and Mary (Nelson) Meade: —

1. Philip Nelson,[2] born December 19, 1810; died November 1, 1873.

2. Richard Kidder,[2] born October 31, 1812; rector of Christ Church, Charlottesville, from 1836 to 1868.

3. Francis Burwell,[2] born August 23, 1815.

Besides the son named above, five grandsons of Bishop Meade are in the ministry of the Episcopal Church; namely, William H. Meade, Francis A. Meade, Everard Meade, Philip N. Meade, and William N. Meade.

I am indebted chiefly to the Rev. Cornelius Walker, D. D., of the Theological Seminary of Virginia, for the following list of Bishop Meade's writings:—

1. Family Prayers. Alexandria, Va. [1812 (?)].

2. Sermons addressed to Masters and Servants, and published in the year 1743, by the Rev. Thomas Bacon, Minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland. Now re-published, with other Tracts and Dialogues on the same subject, and recommended to all Masters and Mistresses to be read in their Families. [Edited, and with an introduction,] by the Rev. William Meade. Winchester, Va., [1813 (?)]. Small 12mo, pp. 238.

3. Second Annual Report of the Bible Society of Frederick County, Virginia. Read before the Society at their Annual Meeting, April 1st, 1815. With an Appendix, and a list of the subscribers and benefactors. Printed by order of the Bible Society. Winchester: 1815. 12mo, pp. 26.

4. Sermon at the Opening of the Virginia Convention, at Winchester, May 20, 1818. Winchester: 1818. 8vo, pp. 24.

5. Letter from Milledgeville, Ga., May 4, 1819, to Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., Secretary of the American Colonization Society, [concerning some captured negroes introduced into Georgia, and which the author proposed to send back to Africa under the auspices of the American Colonization Society]. Washington: 1819. 8vo, pp. 4.

6. Report by the Rev. William Meade to the Managers of the American Colonization Society, of his journey through the Southern States in the interest of the Society, 1819.

7. A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Oliver Norris. Preached in Christ Church, Alexandria, September 18, 1825. Alexandria: 1825. 8vo, pp. 23, and Appendix vi. Philadelphia: 1826. 8vo, pp. 24.

8. Address [in behalf of the objects of the American Colonization Society] at Winchester, Va., July 4, 1825.

9. Sermon on the Death [May 14, 1827], of the Rev. John Dunn, Rector of Shelbourne parish, Loudoun County. [Published in the Theological Repertory, Washington. 1828.] 8vo, pp. 13.

10. A Sermon at the Opening of the Convention of the

Protestant Episcopal Church in Petersburg, May 15, 1828. Richmond: 1828. 8vo, pp. 19; Appendix, pp. 20–24.

11. Sermon delivered in the Rotunda of the University of Virginia, on Sunday, May 24, 1829, on the occasion of the death of Nine Young Men, who fell victims to the Diseases which visited that Place during the summer of 1828, and the following winter. Charlottesville: 1829. 8vo, pp. 48.

12. A Sermon on Confirmation. Preached in Winchester, December 12, 1830. Georgetown: 1831. 16mo, pp. 48. Alexandria: 1833. 3d ed., 24mo, pp. 77; Appendix, pp. 78–112.

13. Address to the Young on the Duty of Ratifying and Confirming their Baptismal Obligations. Prot. Epis. Tracts, No. 6. New York. 12mo, pp. 4.

14. Sermons, Dialogues, and Narratives for Servants. To be read to them in families. Abridged, altered, and adapted to their condition chiefly. Richmond: 1834. 12mo, pp. 96.

15. Family Prayers. Collected from the Sacred Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Works of Bishop Wilson. Alexandria, 1834; also, Richmond, 1834, and other editions. 12mo, pp. 122.

16. Pastoral Letter to the Ministers, Members, and Friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia, on the Duty of affording Religious Instruction to those in Bondage. Alexandria: 1834. 12mo, pp. 29. Reprinted by the Convocation of Central Virginia in 1853. Richmond: 1854. 18mo, pp. 30. [This Pastoral forms a portion of the "Suppressed Tract" (Am. Tract Soc. 1857) which, with a "Rejected Tract" by another writer, was issued in New York in 1858.]

17. Sermon [Connected with the Temperance Cause]. Preached before the Convention in Staunton, [Va.,] May, 1834. Published by request of the same. Richmond: 1834. Also, 1835. 8vo, pp. 23.

18. A Tract for the Times. Chiefly from Bishop Wilson's Meditations on his Sacred Office. Prot. Epis. Tracts, No. 103. New York: 1837. 12mo, pp. 4.

19. Sermon preached at the Opening of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, September 5, 1838. Philadelphia: 1838. 8vo, pp. 34.

20. Sermon to the Students of the Theological Seminary near Alexandria [Va.]. Delivered Mar. 3, 1839. Published by their request. Washington: 1839. 8vo, pp. 16.

21. The Candidate for Confirmation Re-examined; with Questions and Addresses to Ministers, Parents, Sponsors, and others. Philadelphia: 1839. 12mo, pp. 30.

22. The Candidate for Confirmation Self-Examined, etc. Prot. Epis. Tracts, vol. i. No. 16. New York. 12mo, pp. 32. [Same contents as in No. 21.]

23. Circular of Committee of the Trustees concerning the High School of the Diocese of Virginia. Winchester, Jan. 10, 1840. 8vo, pp. 12.

24. The Wisdom, Moderation, and Charity of the English Reformers, and Fathers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. A Sermon preached before the Students of the Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Virginia, February 15, 1840. Washington: 1840. 8vo, pp. 28.

25. Sermon preached before the Students of the High School, in the Prayer Hall of the Theological Seminary [Alexandria, Va.], February 16, 1840. Washington: 1840. 8vo, pp. 15.

26. Sermon preached before the Students of the High School, in the Prayer Hall of the Theological Seminary, October 3, 1840. Washington. 8vo, pp. 15.

27. Life of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt. By himself. Abridged by Bishop Meade. With a letter of Mr. Jarratt's to a friend, on Justification. [1840 (?)] 12mo, pp. 56.

28. Sermon delivered at the Consecration of the Right Rev. Stephen Elliott, D.D., for the Diocese of Georgia, in Christ Church, Savannah, February 28, 1841. With an appendix on the rule of Faith; in which the opinions of the Oxford Divines, and others agreeing with them, are considered; and some of the consequences thereof set forth. Washington: 1841. 8vo, pp. 143.

29. Religious Education [of Children]. New York: 12mo, pp. 26. Philadelphia: 24mo, pp. 51.

30. The Law of Proportion in the Church of God, considered in a Pastoral Address. Alexandria: 1843. 8vo, pp. 56. Richmond: 1843. 8vo, pp. 80.

31. The Doctrines of the Episcopal Church not Romish. An Address to the Convention of the Episcopal Church, Lynchburg, May 16, 1844. Washington: 1844. 12mo, pp. 19, and Appendix, pp. 17.

32. A Tract on the Ministry. For the Episcopal Tract Society of Virginia. An answer to the question, "What does

the Protestant Episcopal Church believe and set forth concerning the ministry?" Extracted from the Book of Common Prayer, the writings of the Rev. William Goode, and the Rev. George Stanley Faber. 12mo, pp. 16.

33. A Brief Review of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, from its first establishment to the present time; being part of an address to the Convention of the Church, in Fredericksburg, May 22, 1845. Richmond: 1845. 8vo, pp. 15.

34. Tract on Industry. Being one of the Homilies, with a sermon on the same subject [preached and published in 1838]. Alexandria: 1845. 12mo, pp. 24.

35. Statement in Reply to Some Parts of Bishop [B. T.] Onderdonk's Statement of Facts and Circumstances connected with his Trial. New York, and Philadelphia: 1845. Also, 1854. 8vo, pp. 21.

36. Companion to the Font and the Pulpit. Washington: 1846. 12mo, pp. 147.

37. Two Letters to the Board of Managers and Executive Committee of the Episcopal Sunday School Union. Baltimore: 1847. 2d ed., 8vo, pp. 62.

38. Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops. New York: 1847. 8vo, pp. 16.

39. Pastoral Letter on Christian Manners, to the Congregations of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia. Richmond: 1847. 8vo, pp. 30.

40. Sketches of Old Virginia Servants. With Preface by Bishop Meade. Philadelphia: 1847. 16mo, pp. 127.

41. A Charge to the Clergy. Richmond: 1848. 8vo, pp. 55. Appendix, on Baptismal Regeneration, and Sentiments of the English Reformers and others, pp. 56–80.

42. Letters to a Mother, on the Birth of a Child. Philadelphia: 1849. 16mo, pp. 101.

43. Explanation of the Church Catechism. Chiefly from the Catechism by the Rev. James Stillingfleet, Jr. With an Appendix. Philadelphia: 1849. 16mo, pp. 30.

44. Review of a Work entitled "The Doctrine of the Church of England as to the Effects of Baptism in the Case of Infants." With an Appendix. New York: 1849. 12mo, pp. 35.

45. Lectures on the Pastoral Office, delivered to the Students of the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va. New York: 1849. 8vo, pp. 241.

46. Wilberforce, Cranmer, Jewel, and the Prayer Book—on the Incarnation. Washington: 1850. 12mo, pp. 56.

47. Ecclesiastical Law and Discipline. A Charge to the Clergy of Virginia. Richmond: 1850. 8vo, pp. 96.

48. Remarks on a Pamphlet concerning a Canon on Lay Discipline passed at the Convention recently held in Alexandria. Washington: 1850. 8vo, pp. 31.

49. The True Churchman. Address to the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, assembled in Staunton, May 21, 1851. Charlottesville: 1851. 8vo, pp. 23. New York: 1852. 16mo, pp. 30.

50. Address to the Episcopalians of Western Virginia, on the proposition to divide the Diocese, etc. Washington: 1851. 8vo, pp. 24.

51. Reasons for Loving the Episcopal Church. Philadelphia: 1852. 12mo, pp. 53. New York: 1858. pp. 43; Appendix, pp. 44–52.

52. Reply of Bishops Meade, McIlvaine, and Burgess to the Argument presented by the Committee of the Diocese of New Jersey to the Court of Bishops, in session at Burlington for the Trial of Bishop Doane. Philadelphia: 1852. 8vo, pp. 28.

53. A Counter-Statement of the Case of Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, in reply to one signed "A Member of the Church." Philadelphia: 1854. Also, Winchester, Va., 1854. 8vo, pp. 31.

54. A Second Pamphlet on the Case of Bishop H. U. Onderdonk. Winchester: 1854. 8vo, pp. 24.

55. Baptismal Vows and Worldly Amusements. New York: 1855. 24mo, pp. 40.

56. Recollections of Two Beloved Wives. [Privately Printed.] [1855 (?)]. 16mo, pp. 72.

57. A Deed of Gift to my Dear Son, Captain Matt. Page, one of His Majesty's Justices for New Kent County, Virginia, [January 1,] 1687[–8]. [From Sir John Page.] Edited by Bishop Meade. Philadelphia: 1856. 12mo, pp. 258. With a Sermon by the Rev. Bryan Fairfax, and a Prefatory Note by Bishop Meade. pp. 259–276.

58. Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia. Philadelphia: 1857. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 490; Vol. II., 495.

59. Confirmation. The Duties of Ministers and Other Parties to the Rite; together with Preparatory Exercises for the

Candidate. [Evangelical Knowledge Society.] New York: 1858. 16mo, pp. 48.

60. The Catechisms usually styled King Edward's, and Dean Noell's [Nowell's], the truest Exposition of the Church Catechism and Baptismal Service, as illustrated by those who framed them. A Selection, with Notes. New York: [1858(?)]. 12mo, pp. 30.

61. Pastoral Letter on Schools and Teachers. Washington: 1858. 8vo, pp. 40.

62. Conversations on the Cathechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church, abridged and accommodated to the American Church, from an English edition. Philadelphia: [1858 (?)]. 16mo, pp. 223.

63. Pastoral Letter to the Laity of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. With an Appendix. Washington. 8vo, pp. 23.

64. Sermon on the Opening of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, in the fifty-first year of [Bishop Meade's] ministry and the thirty-second of his Episcopate. Published by order of the Convention. Richmond: 1861.

65. Address on the State of the Country, delivered before the Convention of the Diocese of Virginia, May 16, 1861.

66. The Bible and the Classics. New York: 1861. 8vo, pp. 559.

67. Address on the Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer. June 13, 1861. With an Extract from Bishop Meade's Address to the Convention in Richmond, on the State of the Country, May 16, 1861, appended. Richmond: 1861. 8vo, pp. 19.

Bishop Meade was a frequent contributor to the Southern urchman, the Theological Repertory, and, it is believed, to er periodicals. The Rev. Richard K. Meade possesses a very complete collection of the printed writings of his father, the bishop. The library of the Theological Seminary near Alexandria, Va., and that of the late Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, likewise contain a large number of the publications mentioned in the foregoing list.

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